

# The FORUM

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## Gazette

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Plus: MANY MORE WITH OUR REGULAR FEATURES

By K.S. Khosla

## Punjab: 1988

**T**errorism will of course take the top position in a review of the Punjab government's performance during 1988 as violence makes the headlines and attracts people's attention much more than developments in other fields. In fact, terrorism has dominated all other fields of activity and may continue to do so in the current year as the battle against terrorism is a long drawn out affair in democratic countries.

One must thank the Director General of Police, Mr. K.P.S. Gill, for promising the people "less violence and more peace" in 1989. But how far he will be able to keep his promise remains to be seen as the reality on the ground does not generate so much hope. Going by the figures released, the number of innocent persons, including policemen, killed was 1964 upto December 22 against 910 in 1987.

The position in regard to extremists killed and arrested remained more or less the same. The number of terrorists killed upto November 30 was 341 against 328 last year and the number of suspected terrorists arrested was 3,431 and 3,750 respectively. Similarly, the total number of terrorists' crimes, including murder, arson, explosions, robberies, etc., was 4,636 in the first eleven months of 1988 as compared to 4,859 in 1987.

One notable feature of the terrorists' crime is that it is no longer directed against one community. In fact, they killed more Sikhs during the last two years. The number of Sikhs killed during 1988 was 975 against 821 in the previous year. The number of

Sikhs and Hindus killed in 1987 was 478 and 425 respectively. Perhaps this has prompted the Governor, Mr. S.S. Ray, to say that terrorists were not Sikhs and he welcomed a similar statement issued by the Akal Takht Jathedar, Prof Darshan Singh Ragi, a day earlier. The Governor wanted all political parties to make similar statements.

But the statement of leaders will not console the relatives of the persons who have fell to the terrorists' bullets. One may naturally ask why the situation is not improving despite induction of more men and arms into the State during the last year. There is, however, one silver lining on the horizon. There has been a qualitative change in the situation which

is for the good of the people. There is greater determination on the part of the security forces to deal with terrorists and as for the people, more persons are coming to cooperate with the police at great risk to their lives. The majority of the people are disillusioned with terrorists which explains the killing of more Sikhs. Mr. Gill was right in claiming that the area of operations of the terrorists had dwindled and the ideological content, i.e., the demand for Khalistan, of terrorists was finished. One should feel happy about these developments but the problem is, as put by Mr. J.F. Rebeiro, Advisor to the Governor, "We are not sure whether the public is with the

*Continued on page 4*

## Climbing Down The Siachen Glacier

By Baiju

**B**oth India and Pakistan are bound by common ties of language, culture and history. But ironically, this intimacy has in fact served only to intensify the animosity between them. But last fortnight crossing all the man-made barriers India and Pakistan signed three agreements making use of the SAARC venue. The first was an agreement on the prohibition of attack against nuclear installations and facilities of both the countries, the second, a cultural cooperation agreement and another on the avoidance of double taxation of income from international air transport.

To sign these agreements both Ms Benazir Bhutto and Mr Rajiv Gandhi climbed down the inhospitable heights of the Siachen Glacier. They forgot the nuclear-worry and the nuclear-suspicion. They put aside the proposal for a nuclear weapons-free zone and turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and, at least for the time being, they were not hindered by the terrorists in Punjab.

### History Of Mutual Distrust And Animosity

**T**he importance is not in the detail of the agreement. It lies in the fact that this is the first time an Indian Prime Minister has had

substantive talks in Pakistan since Pandit Nehru visited the country in 1960. There was a meeting in 1972 at Simla, in India, which resulted in an India-Pakistan pact

the hostility has been exacerbated by the nuclear issue and the terrorism issue. And now the leaders of both the countries think that only a personal relationship



on the disputed Kashmir region. But that did little more than maintain the status quo. But the current meeting is something from reality as it has been rightly put by one of Benazir's ministers as "the first real opportunity for peace in 43 years".

The two countries have a long history of mutual distrust and animosity. Since partition in 1947 they have been at war three times and

between the leaders and the peoples will ease the task of resolving differences between the two countries.

Both Ms Bhutto and Mr Gandhi are in many ways alike. They are

Western-educated and products of Westernized, post-war elites. Apart from having no memories of the horrors of partition, they have little instinctive attachment to the religious prejudices dividing Hindus and Muslims. Both stand in the shadow of parents who died violent deaths, and they should find it easy to understand and sympathize with each other.

### Nuclear Sovereignty

**O**n the nuclear weapons issue, India took the advantage in 1974 when it exploded a nuclear device. While Pakistan fears that India can now manufacture nuclear weapons, India accuses Pakistan of secretly developing nuclear weapons, which Islamabad denies. But, interestingly, both the countries refuse to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Pakistan and India have been trying to conclude a no-war pact since 1982, and an agreement not to attack each other's nuclear installations has been pending since December 1985. Action on the two pacts—on which Mr Gandhi and the late president Zia were close to agreement—was held up because Indian extremist parties,

*Continued on page 4*

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LETTERS

**How To Restore Normalcy In Punjab?**

I must congratulate Ram Jethmalani for his grand success in the case of Kehar Singh argued before the Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court. What would be the outcome of President's review of Kehar's petition is known to only Almighty God. It is no doubt certain that but for the sincere and strenuous efforts and legal acumen of Mr. Jethmalani nobody could have been able to save Kehar and Satwant from the gallows.

Now, the only moot point for debate is as to whether this judgement is going to solve the Punjab problem? Mr. Jethmalani has remarked "The judgment will doubtlessly smooth the feelings in Punjab...senseless violence must come to an end. We should start a new chapter of mutual love and affection". No doubt this is a noble idea. But, is it not unfortunate that the Centre has been throughout lacking in finding out a suitable solution to end the bloody terrorism? Several times right-thinking people and intellectuals have suggested the government to tackle this problem on a political level. But no viable solution was given by the concerned authorities. Once, when Longowal-Rajiv Accord was reached the Centre backed out, as the same Accord was placed in the cold storage, so much so that, on baseless grounds the Barnala Ministry was dismissed. The main excuse offered was that the Akali Ministry could not curb the terrorism. What happened afterwards? During the President rule, which commenced from May 1987, terrorism has increased at least three times. In fact, unless there is a change in the Centre's policy, the Punjab problem cannot be solved. There cannot be peace restored in Punjab unless the concerned authorities sincerely attempt to find out the basic reasons responsible

for the unabated menace of terrorism. Some of the following irritants stand in the way of forging normalcy in the disturbed state of Punjab:-

(i) Killings of innocent young boys in false police encounters should be stopped, because this *modus operandi* proves to be counter-productive. Instead of reducing the terrorists' number such killings create bitter feelings of retaliation. It is abundantly proved from the government statistics furnished in the *tribune* of 6 December. From May 1987 to October 1988, 493 terrorists were killed in encounters and 5941 were arrested. Such a high figure is the outcome of the reaction of killings in false encounters.

(ii) One of the Sikh grievances is that the government has shown no inclination to punish the culprits of anti-Sikh riots of November. On the other hand Sikhs at many places are being harassed by the police. Firm action should be taken to bring to book all the culprits, irrespective of their present or past status in Congress (I) hierarchy, who had ignited such riots in 1984. The general belief among the Sikh masses is that the government has been deviously providing a protective shield to them. Rather, some of them have been elevated to high positions in the government. This amounts to putting salt on their injuries.

(iii) Akali leaders like Tohra, Mann and Badal should be released. Keeping them in jail has created an impression that the government is not interested in tackling the Punjab problem on political level and on the other hand the government is interested in keeping the pot boiling till the time of general elections on one or the other pretext, so that it could ride back to power in the ensuing Lok Sabha elections.

(iv) The continued enforcement of draconian laws leaves an impression that the government exhibits a lot of discrimination with the Sikhs. Besides that, no steps should be taken which may appear as an interference in the Sikh religious affairs.

(v) There are 188 more detainees to be released from Jodhpur jail. Those who had mentally

deranged in the jail should be paid full compensation, so that their dependents do not further suffer.

In the end it may be pointed out that the Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has not held any meetings or talks with the leaders of opposition parties, as promised during his Punjab visit on 21st September last. In my humble view peace and normalcy cannot be restored in the troubled state of Punjab unless the above-mentioned irritants of the Sikhs are not removed.

G.S. Chadha

D-1/21, Vasant Vihar,  
New Delhi.

**Are Workers Slaves?**

I was shocked by reading Mr Bharat Dogra's article on the industrial strike in Delhi ('Unprovoked Violence Against Workers, THE FORUM GAZETTE, 20 Dec 1988 - 4 Jan 1989).

It is too difficult for one to understand what the authorities are about to do. As a resident and social worker of Delhi I have come to know that there are even human beings working 12 hours a day and still getting only 150 rupees a month. Unofficial reports say that in the industrial sector about 15 to 20 percent workers are earning only 200 to 300 rupees a month.

How can the government expect these people to be silent and work like slaves while some others in the same place get more than ten and twenty thousands a month? I have never heard of a government which is so cruel to the workers who are only demanding something just in every sense.

New Delhi

Hari Krishnan

Readers are requested to send in their letters typed or neatly handwritten to the Editor, Forum Gazette, 3 Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi 110 014. The letters may be edited for clarity.

**Sound And Fury**

Let us forget the past and look forward to the future.  
- Mr Deng Xiaoping to Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

We have got our formulas and they have got theirs. What we have decided upon is to work towards a mutually acceptable solution, which is fair and reasonable.

- Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Jyoti Basu told me to go back to writing books. I will go back to writing, but not books. I will rewrite the map of Bengal.  
- Mr Subhas Ghising.

We have lost the battle but not the war.

- Mr Saran Darnal, Congress(I) candidate for Darjeeling Sadar.

You cannot fight extreme communalism with moderate communalism.  
- Mr Satpal Dang of the CPI.

There are many revolutionary parties in West Bengal. Those (members) who think the CPI(M) is a revisionist party can join these parties.  
- Mr Jyoti Basu, quoted in Aaj-Kaal.

All Indian leaders, including Indian Communists, are very sympathetic to me.  
- The Dalai Lama.

We didn't need a Sarkaria Commission to tell us that India was one, we knew it from the time we were born.  
- Mrs Renuka Chaudhary, Telugu Desam MP.

The destiny of Sikhs is safe.

- Mr Ram Jethmalani after the Supreme Court called for a review of Kehar Singh's petition.

The differences within the Opposition parties are not as costly to the country as the dumb silence of Congressmen.  
- Mr V.P. Singh.

How can I join the Janata Dal seeing the treatment V.P. Singh is getting there?  
- Mr Ram Dhan.

Forty generations of V.P. Singh's family have betrayed the country,  
- Mr Buta Singh.

My feeling is that the Congress cannot afford to go for elections without consulting Kanshi Ram.  
- Mr Kanshi Ram.

It is going to be a fight between me and Karunanidhi  
- Miss Jayalalitha.

I am always in Teheran. I see it, I feel it, I feel its pulse. I have never left it.  
- Prince Reza Pahlavi, pretender to the Iranian throne.

You can't blame the Indian government. India has already taken a position on the issue. It is like a train. You can't change tracks midway  
- The Dalai Lama on India's Tibet policy, in Sunday

I am worried about prominent Opposition politicians accusing the Prime Minister of (having) illegal Swiss accounts while probably owning a few themselves

- Dr Subramanian Swamy, who has threatened to expose these leaders

At least we have a stable government and our Cabinet does not get reshuffled every other month or at 12 in the night  
- Jyoti Basu on the reputed absence of work culture in Bengal

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**By Rap**





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## PM's Foreign Visits

**I**n December 1988, the Prime Minister paid two foreign visits, one to China and another to Pakistan. Both of them have aroused widespread interest. It is important to assess their significance in terms of the rapidly evolving political situation in the country.

On the domestic front, the Prime Minister has been having problems. It is not necessary to list them; indeed they are too numerous to be listed. But it must be said to his credit that he has been fighting back. He has not chosen to give in any way. In regard to Tamil Nadu for instance, he has shown considerable initiative as well as persistence. The best thing that has gone in his favour is the disunited Opposition. In fact nothing has helped him more decisively than their disunity and, what is worse, their continued inability to come together. In brief, the Opposition has not been his best ally.

It is in this context that his foreign visits have to be seen. About China, opinion was divided. Not everybody thought that he should pay the visit. He had not been specifically invited. What he was doing was to take advantage of an invitation to his mother. Even otherwise, quite some people had doubts as to the eventual outcome of the visit.

On the other hand was the undoubted fact that the international situation was in a flux. Russia and America did not have the same kind of tension as had existed for several decades. There was a thaw in the relationship between Russia and China. The Iran-Iraq war had also come to an end. The situation in Pakistan and its neighbour Afghanistan had also undergone a marked change. In plain words, everything was in a flux and it was clear that the earlier, immobile posture could not be maintained except at some cost.

Above all, the situation in China was no longer the same as it used to be. For almost a decade, the earlier rigidities had been getting loosened. Some of the mistakes made earlier under Mao had been acknowledged and corrective action taken. Not only that, China looked upon herself as being one of the potential superpowers, or almost so. In this situation China was not interested in maintaining a posture of confrontation with India.

In this background, was it right for the Prime Minister to go to China? The answer is in the positive. One cannot be equally positive, however, in regard to what he did there. On the whole he was cautious and correct. But in regard to Tibet he went out of his way to make himself acceptable to the Chinese. To repeat the formulation made by his grandfather in 1944 was in order but not his statement that what happened in Tibet was an internal matter of China. To put it bluntly, he bent over backwards to make himself liked by the Chinese who, it does not require to be added, are a shrewd and calculating lot. On balance, nothing serious was lost but there was no gain either.

The visit to Pakistan falls in a different category. He went there in connection with the SAARC meeting but the occasion was utilised for reducing tensions and concluding three agreements. It should not be necessary to give details of what was decided; those are available in newspapers. The point to underline is that there was an attempt to make a new beginning. As evidence of the new beginning, assurances were given in regard to denial of support to terrorism and drug trafficking. More than that, the possibility of even reducing the defence forces on both sides was also discussed. All this is positive and there should be no doubt whatsoever that it would give a new accession of strength to the Prime Minister. Besieged as he is by all kinds of problems within the country, these visits can give him something to talk about and may be something even to build upon. Without question, visit to Pakistan is a feather in his cap.

To what extent can he take advantage of this turn of events? There is no knowing. It all depends upon his political skill and his reading of the situation. He has never given much evidence of a high degree of political skill but things have never been so favourable for him in the last year or two as they are today.

In fact he can go beyond that. He can get Benazir Bhutto to visit India. That could become quite an event and give him enormous political mileage. All this is in the womb of the future. It is difficult to anticipate what shape things would take. Whatever shape they take, on this there should be no doubt that in the current phase of Indian politics he has done much better for himself than it was believed possible a couple of months ago.

*Is life worth living? That depends on the liver.*

- Anon

## Gorbachev Visits India, Rajiv Visits China

# India's New Foreign Policy Options

By Ludwina A. Joseph



Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi with the Chinese Vice-Premier, Wu Xueqian in Beijing

**T**he recent Gorbachev visit to India and his emphasis on new power equations in the Asia-Pacific region—with China as the principal actor and a diminished role for India—appears to have upset somewhat South Block's foreign policy calculations and dependence on its erstwhile senior partner. Although Moscow continues to attach importance to its bilateral links with India, particularly in trade and arms supplies, New Delhi can no longer take for granted the familiar and predictable relationship it once shared with the Soviets.

Although the Joint Statement issued at the end of the Soviet visit does not mention China, it appears that Rajiv Gandhi and Gorbachev spent an unconscionable amount of time discussing Beijing's assurance that the Soviet Union's developing relations with other countries would not adversely affect its ties with India, he continued to stress his new priorities in Asia (spelt out recently in Krasnoyarsk) and the importance of rapprochement between the Soviets, China (and India) in the larger context of Asian peace.

To put it bluntly, India can no longer look to Soviet assistance in the event of problems with neighbouring countries. So far New Delhi had slavishly followed Soviet direction in warding off Chinese overtures but now that it suited the Soviets to settle with China, India would be very easily jettisoned (despite the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship) unless it also embarked on a similar rapprochement.

In fact, the aftermath of Gorbachev's coming opens up an interesting array of vistas for New Delhi with the excellent opportunity of emerging from the Soviet shadow to explore new foreign policy

options—in the SAARC context, with Benazir Bhutto, vis-a-vis India's self-assumed regional policing role (Maldives, Sri Lanka), with the Bush administration in Washington and perhaps, most excitingly, an opening to China.

However, only the most optimistic would imagine that an Indo-Chinese reconciliation could keep up with the accelerated pace of a Sino-Soviet settlement. In fact Rajiv Gandhi said as much in Parliament immediately after the Gorbachev visit when he suggested that China was "unimportant" in the context of Indo-Soviet ties—a pronouncement that rather defeats understanding and has probably sent the Chinese into a tizzy wondering if he was being ingenuous, undiplomatic or just plain facetious.

Despite Rajiv Gandhi's protestations, as far as the border dispute with China is concerned, there appears to be a subtle shift in India's previously rigid stand about both its eastern and western sectors being sacrosanct. There has been talk, both in Parliament (by Congress-I members) and in the pro-establishment press, that New Delhi should give up its insistence on Aksai Chin (in the west) to get Chinese recognition of the McMahon Line (in the east). Whether these views have been orchestrated by the Government to gauge the public mood on the eve of a general election or whether the concessions and accommodations required by both sides will actually be discussed or take place is rather doubtful.

A small but enlightened section of Indian public opinion has at last begun to question New Delhi's rather dubious and unauthenticated claims in the western sector. But it is as yet uncertain whether

there has been progress enough for an Indian Prime Minister to ignore the more chauvinistic general attitude that screams "betrayal", "sellout" or worse everytime there is an attempt at a rational discussion on the subject. Normally, even the slightest suggestion that India might climb down from its false and fossilised position evokes strong and jingoistic reactions in the media and with certain political groups. However, just the fact that some influential opinion-makers in New Delhi can take a pragmatic instead of an emotional view of the border tangle is a hopeful sign.

It has taken India over a quarter of a century to realise that if it had let the Chinese have their road (linking Tibet and Chinese Turkestan in the Aksai Chin) all those years ago at the 1962 Geneva talks, Beijing may have agreed to a trade-off in the eastern sector. In fact India might even have spared itself the humiliation and trauma of that resounding defeat by China in the winter of 1962, which even thirty years later has left scars on the national psyche with all the attendant question-marks over Nehru's failed policy.

He needs the will, courage and strength of a new generation to throw off the shackles of the past and start on a clean slate. He also needs a sense of history and an awareness that, unless there is a settlement with China, Indian ambitions and aspirations will remain narrow and mean—confined to bullying its smaller neighbours in a petty attempt at one-upmanship in the region—when it could so easily, given its size, importance and sheer weight of numbers, take up a larger and more meaningful role on the world stage.



# Punjab: 1988

Continued from page 1

administration or not." The public, he admitted, was cynical towards the administration largely due to the non-cooperative attitude of the lower rung officials. The question is, Mr. Rebeiro said, how to win the confidence of the people to curb the menace of terrorism. The statement of Mr. Rebeiro is almost the same as that Mr. Chaman Lal, former Inspector General of Police (Border), who said a few months ago that the people were not with the terrorists but they were neither with the police. He invited the wrath of his bosses for having said so and was transferred. The people are not with the police mainly because of the rampant corruption in its lower levels which is alienating the people from it. In fact, the Chief Secretary, Mr. R.P. Ohja, has launched a corruption drive, which was slowed down by the unprecedented floods but he has promised some positive action at the end of January or February this year. Terrorism combined with corruption is making the life of the people, particularly in the countryside, miserable and the people are becoming disillusioned and cynical.

Another reason for the lack of public cooperation, which is not admitted officially, is the inordinate delay in the redressal of people's grievances. Though under the President's rule grievances committees have been appointed at the State and district levels, the machinery evolved is not effective enough to give the people speedy justice. Another handicap is that the ground level police intelligence is not yet able to forecast terrorists strikes.

Despite these handicaps, the crime rate in some of worst affected areas, like Taran Taran and Majitha, has come down due to determined police action. For the first time in many years the Golden Temple is free from terrorists and the present Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee is not allowing terrorists to have a foothold in the temple complex, particularly after the exit of Mr. Jasbir Singh Rode, a militant and a former Akal Takht Jathedar. The celebration of Diwali at the Golden Temple after many years is another hopeful sign. The beautification plan of the Golden Temple is going apace and the 30-km belt around the temple has been cleared of houses and other buildings. More than Rs.70 crores has been distributed as compensation to the affected house owners and tenants which is expected to boost the economy of Amritsar. The administration is currently busy preparing landscaping plans for the area.

The gigantic scale on which the

administration met the challenge of the unprecedented floods and distributed flood relief to the tune of about Rs.70 crores is another sign of the administration's determination to deal with crises.

The achievements of the administration in the field of agriculture and industries are inevitably eclipsed by the glare of terrorists violence. It is no mean achievement that despite heavy floods and siltation with sand of large areas, there has been a loss of only 15 percent in the production of paddy. The authorities claim that there will be no reduction in the coming rabi production, which means that the national food kitty will be filled upto 60 percent by Punjab.

As for industries, in the large and medium sector two units with investment of Rs.187 crores providing employment to more than 6,000 persons have been set up. Besides, 13 projects promoted by the State Industrial Development Corporation have been commissioned. Further, 18 projects with an outlay of Rs.205 crores have been taken up construction. The speed with which the State Electricity Board was able to repair the damage done to its machinery by heavy floods is admirable, making the power position comfortable again.

The administration realise that in spite of all the infrastructure, entrepreneurs from outside are reluctant to invest in Punjab. For this the administration is trying to take measures to build up the people's confidence. As a first step, the administration has again clarified that despite opposition from all political parties, it will hold panchayat elections in two or three months, soon after adequate security forces are available after the assembly elections, in Tamil Nadu, Nagaland and Mizoram. The idea is to involve people with the lower levels of the administration to remove the sense of alienation. If the panchayat elections are held peacefully, the administration plans to hold elections to local bodies and thereafter to the State Assembly.

As for terrorism, the administration proposes to take still stronger measures to wipe out this evil. Here the problem is the help given to terrorists by Pakistan. Observers feel that unless an understanding is reached with Pakistan, the problem will continue. Mrs Benazir Bhutto has already indicated that she wanted reduction in tension between the two countries and revival of the Shimla accord spirit. The doubting Thomases, however, do not see much of a hope as the Pakistan Army is still firmly entrenched and the Punjab province is being ruled by zia's men.

Continued from page 1

and even Mr Gandhi's own party did not want him to go too far in concluding peace.

The most important agreement that the non-attack against nuclear installations and facilities of India and Pakistan by each other is unlike a treaty of mutual verification or a nuclear weapons-free zone proposal. Instead, this will not abrogate each other's nuclear sovereignty nor would it pre-empt its options, but would represent only a measure to build mutual confidence and strengthen the peace process.

## Terrorism Factor

The most important area where India seeks improvements is in alleged Pakistani support for terrorists in Punjab. This was the chief reason for the sharp worsening of Indo-Pakistani relations in the later years of the Zia administration. The Pakistan government, for its part, has in the past seen an alleged Indian hand in ethnic Sind violence. Mrs Bhutto's public statements leave no doubt of her strong opposition to terrorism and it should encourage India tremendously. But any Pakistani aid to the terrorists in Punjab—extent and nature of which is a

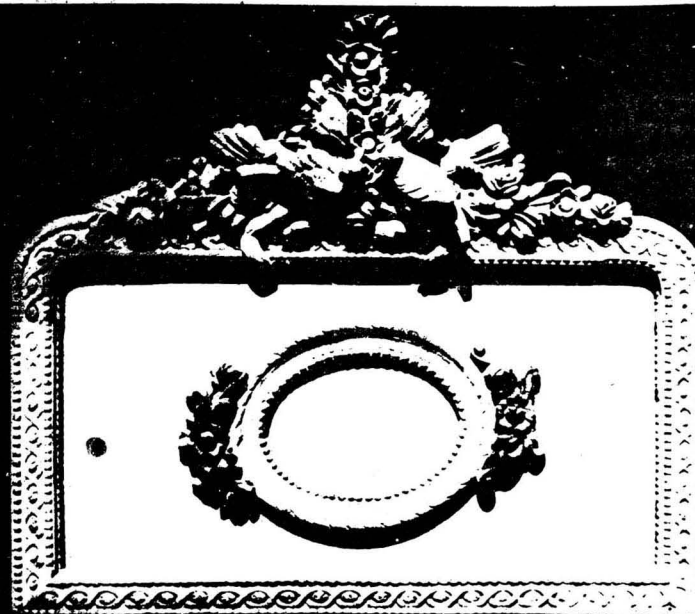
## Climbing Down The Siachen Glacier



matter for speculation—is generally seen as supervised not directly by the Pakistani Government, but by the intelligence service, led by Major-General Hamid Gul, a Zia appointee.

Though only a little has come out in the Press about Mr Gandhi's brief encounter with Ms

Bhutto, it can be expected favourably that a 'breakthrough' as the former himself has put it, has been achieved. And something more concrete and substantial can be reasoned from the 1989 visits between the two countries.



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# Why Demolitions So Cured?

By Bharat Dogra

In numerous unauthorised colonies, including hut colonies (Juggi-jhopri colonies) of Delhi and of other Indian cities) people from weaker sections live in constant threat of eviction and demolition.

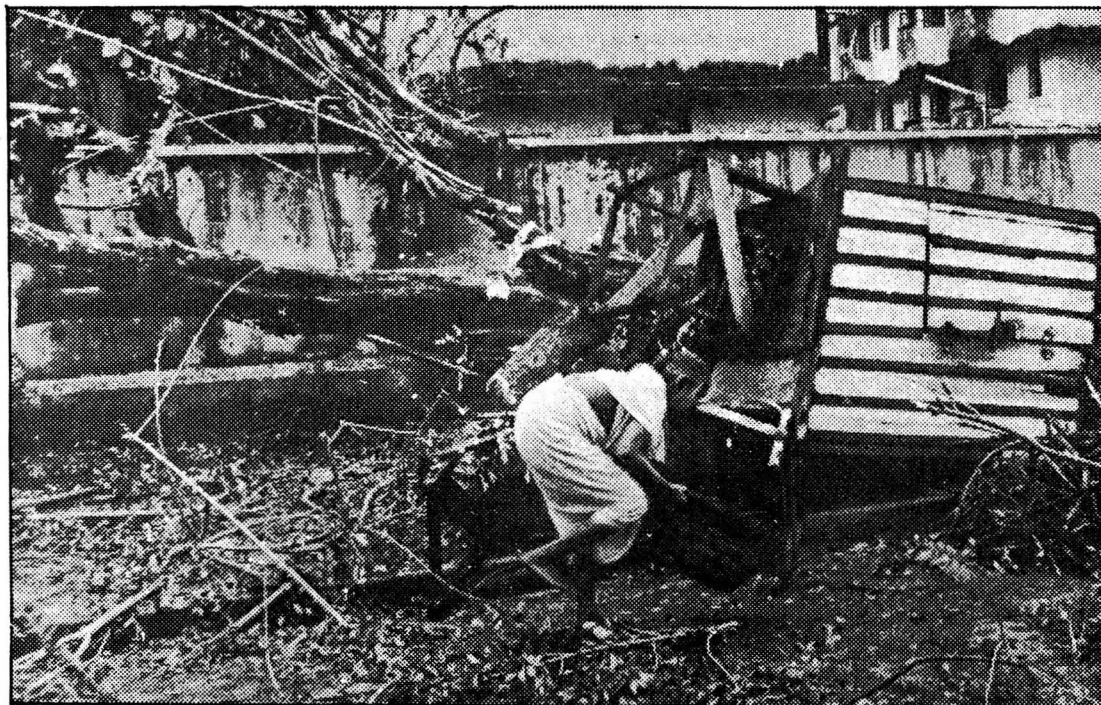
To take the example of Sangam Vihar, an unauthorised colony on Mahrauli-Badarpur Road, it has experienced a series of demolitions during the last decade or so of its existence. According to a report prepared on this colony by the People's Union for Democratic Rights the first demolition here took place in 1983. The second demolition occurred in February 1985 when 100 to 150 houses were demolished and about 20 persons were arrested. In June this year there was another attempt at Demolition, about 350 persons were detained while 20 were jailed. Many were injured in police firing. On March 28, 1987 about 50 unoccupied houses were demolished in this colony. On 4 April 100 to 150 houses were totally demolished. On April 5, in another demolition effort, the police badly beat up the local residents. At least 30 people were seriously injured. 32 people were implicated in cases and jailed. On June 20, 1987, a large number of houses in the L Block of the colony were demolished.

Thus in a single colony in the course of just five years, houses which provided or would have provided shelter to the lands of people have been demolished, any hundreds of other families have suffered and have been temporarily deprived of their bread winners as a result of the hundreds of persons who have been injured, arrested and implicated in legal cases, which linger on for a long time, causing a drain as the meagre resource of these families from economically weaker sections. In addition we should keep in mind the enormous uncertainty and tension experienced by thousands of people right through this period and continuing till today, as the danger of demolition squads has always dogged this colony.

Despite all this, according to a recent estimate, this colony houses about one lakh people. The distress and the uncertainty are very much there but people from weaker sections continue to flock to such unauthorised colonies because they have no where else to go. The prices and rents of houses are simply too high for them in the 'legal' parts of the city. Why don't the authorities recognise this reality and instead of inflicting such massive distress on people, take realistic steps to meet the housing needs of weaker sections at prices they can afford.

This is an article on demolitions in unauthorised colonies in Delhi.

In many cases the need for demolitions arises only because corruption ridden officialdom allow ignorant people to buy land and construct houses at unauthorised places, or at places which have been already acquired by D.D.A. while explaining this, the article also pleads for a humanitarian approach once a demolition operation has become unavoidable in the eyes of the government.



For the authorities it is easier to justify demolitions on land on which unauthorised constructions have come up despite the fact that this land has already been acquired by DDA (Delhi Development Authority) for its housing and related schemes. The argument would be that how can the D.D.A. go ahead with its allotted task of tackling the housing shortage when the land on which it is supposed to build is blocked by unauthorised structures. However, a counter-question that has to be asked here is—why is it that these

unauthorised constructions were ignored at an early date, and why weren't the ignorant people buying land here from ruthless property agents not informed about the likely loss of their scarce savings in this land? Why were the property agents who sold and re-sold this land not arrested? The answer to these questions is well-known. In most cases such colonies came up with the collusion of corrupt officials, including the police, and it is to fill their offers that the officials turn a blind eye to the encroachments. Later it is the poor who have purchased land here from racketeers by pooling all their savings and/or incurred debts—who have to face the demolition squads and see their houses—the monument of their life's work and savings—go down in rubble before them.

**Why is it that these unauthorised constructions were ignored at an early date, and why weren't the ignorant people buying land here from ruthless property agents not informed about the likely loss of their scarce savings in this land? Why were the property agents who sold and re-sold this land not arrested?**

In a recent letter written to the editor of Navbharat Times, a social worker and President of 'Delhi Pradesh Dalit Samaj', Mr. Kaliram Tomar has exposed the illegal encroachments and re-sale of land already acquired by D.D.A. in Yamuna Khajuri Khas, Mandauli, Karavallnagar, Gokalpuri, Jauhri-pur and Ashok Nagar. He has alleged that when people ignorant of the reality make anxious inquiries from the police and other officials about the legal status of their

land, they are falsely advised that they can safely and legally buy this land. Property dealers pay the police bribes on per sq. yard basis. Each house construction fetches the police an additional Rs.250 per plot. The DDA land near Loni Road, West Jyotinagar is being illegally sold even though DDA flats are being constructed just opposite this land. Even here the concerned officials have ignored this sale as bribes are regularly given. In this illegal sale the local police gets Rs.10 per sq yard, DDA officials get Rs.10 per sq.yard, the special police cell gets Rs.5 per sq. yard, the original landowners get Rs. 20 per sq.yard

while the rest of the money goes to property dealers and their helpers. Following past experience when a large number of houses have been constructed; then demolition squads will turn up to destroy in a few minutes the savings and labours of several years of the people living here. Mr. Tomar alleges that when he asked an official why effective steps are not being taken to check this, he replied that he and others like him are not bothered—they are getting their share of the money made.

Demolitions can be stopped, or at least reduced to a large extent, but not if the corrupt system outlined above continues to flourish unhindered. Can we at least plead for a more humanitarian approach when some huts or constructions held illegal in the eyes of the authorities have to be removed by them. In July this year when about 400 huts were demolished in Delhi Cantt., Delhi was in the middle of heavy rain and a most serious epidemic of gastro enteritis and cholera. What is more at the time of demolition, hut-dwellers who were taken in entirely by surprise were given very little time to remove the belongings. Some of them were also arbitrarily beaten up. All this when the hut-dwellers were too terror struck and taken aback to offer any resistance. Demolitions are an extremely sad event in any case, and authorities do not have to rub salt on wounds by this kind of thoughtless actions which unfortunately are not infrequent at the time of demolitions.

As the people whose houses are being demolished are earning their livelihood in this city so they have to live here and alternative plots should be given to them. Earlier 25 square yard plots used to be given, then this was reduced to a merely 12.5 yards plots on which it is difficult to live. Even these are not being given now at many demolition sites.

होमो सी खुशमुरती हा गम  
**मिम्बे**  
**मिम्बासी**  
रेमडेस  
From the House of  
**SIMCO HAIR FIXER**



# National Perspective Plan For Women Is It A Plan At All?

**A**boorting the attempt of the Government of India to push through the National Perspective Plan for Women (NPP) without adequate consultation or discussion with women's organisations, seven national women's organisations jointly convened an all India convention on August 22-23 in Delhi to discuss the plan and its implications for women's development.

The Organisers were the All India Democratic Women's Association, the centre for Women's Development Studies, the Coordination Committee for Working Women, the National Federation of Indian Women, the YMCA of India, the Mahila Dakshata Samiti, and the joint Women's Programme. The 142 delegates included representatives of over 30 other women's groups, organisations, women's studies centres from different states, reflecting the different trends within the women's movement.

The significance of the convention lay precisely in its achievement of a common approach and understanding among so many different organisations towards the NPP. Of course, the emphasis on different aspects may have differed, depending on each group or organisation owns work experience and general perspective. But what was extremely important was that in the context of Government policies towards women's development the experience of each participant added to and strengthened the critical approach of the women's movement towards such policies.

Undoubtedly what immensely helped the development of a common understanding was the hard work put in by the convening organisations to prepare working papers on the different themes taken up in the NPP. Apart from the central working paper which was the overview approach to the whole Plan, seven other papers were prepared jointly on (1)

Employment (2) Health (3) Education and Culture (4) Social Oppression (5) Law (6) Rural Development and (7) Role of Organisation and Political Participation.

The convention started on August 22 with an introduction by Ivy Khan, President, YMCA as to why such a convention was necessary in the first place. She stressed the importance of participation of those actively involved in the women's movement in different fields in the preparation of a plan which will affect all aspects of women's lives for the next twelve years. This was followed by an extremely useful background paper by Dr. Vina Mazumdar on the various important documents of the Government of India in the last decade and a half. Susheela Gopalan on behalf of the convenors presented the overview paper focussing on the major points. The discussion was then open to the floor and the participants added to the critique on the basis of their own experiences. The afternoon session was divided into group discussions on the various working papers with each of the 7 organisations convening separate groups. The following day, the recommendations of the groups were presented to the convention by the different convenors and then once more the discussion was open to the floor. About 35 delegates spoke in the general debate apart from the more detailed discussions in the various sub-groups. Among the speakers was Chaya Bera, Minister of State from West Bengal, who spoke on the experiences of the Left Front Government and what it had been able to achieve for women's development.

It is not possible in a report of this kind to give the details of the various working papers and the many recommendations made by the groups which greatly strengthened the papers. These documents are in the process of being printed and should be available shortly. However, it is important to note some of the major points of the general critique of the Plan which were discussed and approved by the convention.

**T**he convention pointed out the separation of NPP from the main Plan as a major drawback. This reflected the tendency to treat the women's question in isolation from the mainstream development process. Although this NPP had noted the failures of government programmes in the past, especially those designed to benefit women and particularly rural women since the Sixth Plan, it failed to analyse the root cause of these blockages, which in fact were a result of the mainstream policies adopted by the Government since Independence. This was significant as it meant a rejection of the NPPs attempt to delink itself from the macro policies of the Government of India. Moreover, the NPP projects attractive targets to be reached by AD 2000 without any further allocation of funds.

The increase which should have been achieved by the end of the 7th Five Year Plan is now given gestation period of another two years. The convention pointed out the need to first and foremost ensure further allocation of funds for various programmes under different heads and channelization of funds to the states.

The major thrust of the NPP recommendation regarding the implementation machinery was towards centralization of power, for example, without making a serious analysis of why the implementing mechanism had dismally failed in the hands of the Commissioner for Women's Rights, etc. This will be ineffective as is obvious from any serious analysis of the reasons for failure of the implementing machinery in the past. The convention emphasized the need for initiating a process of decentralization from the panchayat level upwards. It is in this context that the demand was made for the setting up of a National Commission of Women with statutory powers with units down to the district level. Panchayat level advisory bodies with elected representatives, to work with the gram panchayats, and to liaison with the units of the national Commission at the district level were also suggested to ensure effective implementation of plans and programmes. Also linked with the Government's move towards centralization was the recommendation of 30 per cent reservation for women in all decision-making bodies via nomination. The convention unanimously rejected the attempt by the Government at co-option via nomination and stated that such a move could subvert the entire democratic process. The convention felt that 30 per cent reservation in decision-making bodies through elections alone should be ensured up to the district level.

All the working groups empha-

**The growing attacks and atrocities on women, dalit and adivasi women in particular, is a marked feature in women's lives today. Bride burning and murder, sexual harassment, rape, kidnapping sale of women are daily events. But the NPP not only ignores these facts but refuses to see the underlying reasons for these.**

sised the need for radical land reforms as the basis for generating a resource base for women. The NPP talks of joint *pattas* and single *pattas* to women-headed households, but fails to take cognizance of the concentration of land holding and suggests no concrete measures for implementing land reforms, identifying and distributing surplus lands. In fact, in the Government's eyes the distributive surplus is fast dwindling. The convention reaffirmed that the land question is central and has direct bearing on the status of women.

The NPP talks of increasing employment opportunities for women in both rural and urban areas, whilst the main thrust of the Central Plan is towards extension of Green Revolution belts and a shift to capital intensive and labour substitution production methods, all of which result in casualization and marginalization of women workers, and rising unemployment.

In this context the convention opposed the promotion of the unorganized sectors for women's employment as a substitute for creating more employment in the organized sectors and rejected the preferential emphasis policy of the Government. The NPP has further proposed specific sectors like textile, dairy farming, handicrafts, etc. for generating employment for rural women. Some of these are already crisis-ridden; large scale displacement of women is also taking place, owing to modernization and mechanization in which women being largely unskilled workers are the first to be hit. It was felt there was no contradiction between the convention's understanding that Government policies and the development process are leading to the growth of the unorganised sector and its stand that women in these sectors need protection, both legal and financial.

**T**he convention pointed out the need for skill development and training for women. The Government recommendation of setting up an apex body for training (World Bank aided presumably) is another step towards centralization; it would not really touch women in rural areas where they need it most and where present training facilities are totally divorced from what the women require.

The convention pointed out that it was ironic that the NPP should talk of education as an important aspect of women's development when the Government's own New Education Policy (NEO) has given up the demand of free and compulsory and universal education upto age 14.

Such contradictions reflected itself in all aspects of the NPP, be it on the question of social oppression, law, promotion of culture or health. The Plan fails to take note of the social conditions under which women live. The growing attacks and atrocities on women, dalit and adivasi women in particular, is a marked feature in women's lives today. Bride burning and murder, sexual harass-

**It is ironic that the NPP should talk of education as an important aspect of women's development when the government's own New Education Policy has given up the demand of free, compulsory and universal education.**

ment, rape, kidnapping sale of women are daily events. But the NPP not only ignores these facts but refuses to see the underlying reasons for these. The convention noted the growth of religious fundamentalism and its danger for women and the dalits. The Government compromises with these forces for its narrow political and electoral interests, the most recent examples being the Muslim Women's Bill and limitations in the anti-Sati Act of 1988. Apart from the Government lacking political will to enact effective laws to protect women, even existing rights are being eroded. In fact, whatever laws have been enacted are a result of the pressure built up by the women's movement.

The convention called for the rectification of the International Convention on elimination of discrimination against women; the withdrawal of the Trade Union and Industrial Relations Bill and the Hospital and Other Institutions Bill which would directly affect not only the democratic rights of the people but in particular, women's right to organize and struggle against oppression; to continue the national debate on the NPP and to convene state level conventions on it. It demanded that any plan, policy or document on women should go through the National Development Council before being introduced in Parliament.

Some women Congress (I) MPs and other individuals issued a statement criticising the convention and its organisers for politicising the issue instead of having a 'positive approach' to Government's efforts. Those who issued the statement had not so much as looked at the convention's critique of the NPP; it even goes against the recommendation of an earlier seminar organised by the Social Welfare Ministry which recommended a national debate. Presumably according to these circles a 'national debate' should be only within the parameters of support to the Plan, while any opposition would be political.

*Courtesy: Women's Equality*



## KEHAR SINGH: VICTIM OF VENGEANCE

BY FG Special Correspondent.

By killing Kehar Singh, one of the two convicts in the Indira Gandhi murder case, the government has equalled the Nazi regime of old Germany. It had been proved beyond doubt that Kehar Singh was innocent and a number of other evidences which support the fact that Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by some other forces surfaced in the past few months.

The entire nation is shocked by this vengeful and foolish act of the government and almost all of our political observers believe that this act would be reverberating in the course of history-making events currently taking place in our country.

In a press statement issued by Lt. Gen. J.S. Aurora on behalf of the Sikh Form, which has been fighting hard for justice to Kehar Singh since his arrest, condemned the execution vehemently and has said "this collous and vengeful act has further sullied the image of the government for flouting natural justice, impartiality and human rights" and would be a "blot on the fair name of our country".

The government's decision to go ahead with the execution of this innocent man was inspite of worldwide appeals from eminent jurists, statesmen and journalists. Why the government ignoring all these requests and appeals are unknown. But the fact is so known, the government was determined to kill him. Because it had to sentence someone to hide the facts, the most vital fact that the

involvement of some prominent political leaders and government functionaries were directly involved in the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi.

After the Supreme Court verdict on the interpretation of Article 72 of the Constitution, the intelligentsia of the country were feeling sure that the President would certainly grant pardon and commute the death sentence of Kehar Singh.

But they are thoroughly dismayed to know that all the submissions based on convincingly valid grounds have been summarily ignored and hastily disposed of. There is not a single precedent where in the absence of a direct evidence any person held guilty for a charge of conspiracy in murder have been sentenced to death. Contrarily, there are worse cases like that of Dr. Jain (eye specialist) and Godse in Mahatma Gandhi's assassination case were sentenced to life imprisonment only for a proved conspiracy charge. It seems that Thakar Commission report has not been gone through by the President and evidence likely to surface through Atinderpal Singh has also not been considered at all by him.

The execution which amounts to a judicial murder will further worsen the hitherto gloomy political atmosphere of the country. The government could have pardoned Kehar Singh and won the minds of thousands of right-thinking people of the Sikh community which would have helped solving the Punjab problem tremendously.

## Ray Hails Darshan Singh's Stand

Mr S.S. Ray, Governor of Punjab, has hailed the statement of Mr Darshan Singh, Jathedar of Akal Takht, in which the latter had said that "terrorists are not Sikhs."

Speaking at a function here today, Mr Ray said the Akali Dals should follow Mr Darshan Singh and issue similar statements. He said Mr Darshan Singh had in fact supported his stand that terrorists did not belong to any religion and were simply criminals.

Mr Ray called upon all political parties to support the statement of Mr Darshan Singh as it was a

good development.

Mr Ray said the relations between the SGPC and the Punjab Government were "satisfactory and reasonable" and there was no tension.

Making the Government's stand clear regarding the readmittance of Mr Surjit Singh Barnala to the Sikh Panth and the punishment given to him earlier, Mr Ray said the Government had nothing to do with the affair. It was an internal matter of the Sikhs. The Government never wanted to interfere in the religious affairs of the community.

He said the Government would never allow the Golden Temple complex to become the abode of terrorists again. He claimed that since Operation Black Thunder no terrorist activity had been reported from the Temple complex.

A remarkable change had been noticed in the Punjab situation over the past 19 months. The concept of "Khalistan" had vanished.

He said President's rule in Punjab was a temporary affair and the people of the State should make efforts to bring about normalcy so that popular rule could begin as early as possible.

## Prison Remission Cut For Terrorists

The British government last fortnight unveiled the latest in the series of tough new measures aimed against the IRA and Sinn Fein with a Commons announcement of a cut in prison remission for convicted terrorists.

This follows the government's stepping up of its anti-terrorist drive in Northern Ireland last month by announcing a crack-down on paramilitary finances and politics.

Under the legislation to be introduced in 1989, those jailed for five years or more for terrorist offences will receive only one-third remission instead of half.

The move is the latest anti-IRA measure to emerge from the intensive security review following the August upsurge in republican violence, particularly the killing of

### FG News Service

eight soldiers in an Army bus. It comes after the ban on broadcasting Sinn Fein interviews and the ending of suspects' right to silence.

Further important new measures are under consideration but the Government hopes to avoid giving the impression that together these amount to a package, since another IRA atrocity would be followed by allegations that the package had failed.

The Prime Minister told the Commons that the cuts in remission would mean those found guilty of terrorism would spend longer in prison: "They should act as a further deterrent to those who contemplate acts of terrorism and violence."

The new move represents a

significant change of stance for Mrs Thatcher for the first time, the law will differentiate specifically between terrorist and non-terrorist prisoners. This point lay at the heart of the 1981 republican hunger strike, when 10 IRA and INLA prisoners fasted to death in an attempt to gain a status marking them apart from what they saw as "ordinary criminals".

Throughout that fraught period Mrs Thatcher insisted that terrorists would not be treated differently from other prisoners.

The changes, which will be part of a new Prevention of Terrorism Act, are a triumph for the retiring chief constable of the RUC and senior Army officers who have told ministers that a significant proportion of people released from prison rejoin terrorist squads.

## Christians Reject Cong(I) Overtures

Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad's apparent failure to repatriate the Christian community into the Congress(I) fold has given anxious moments to the State and Central party commands.

Hitherto a substantial vote bank, the Christians in Bihar have recently been alienated from the Congress party. The expulsion of a Catholic priest from the country put their backs up. The problem was compounded when a Congress (I) legislator allied with the BJP leaders to confiscate land belonging to the church in the heart of the town, leading to tremendous ill-feeling among the minority community.

The Christians' displeasure became palpable on Christmas eve. Mr Azad made a special trip to Ranchi to woo them at a lavish party to celebrate Christmas, with almost every Congress(I) legislator and bureaucrat present to dance attendance on them.

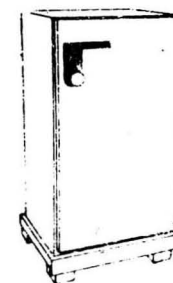
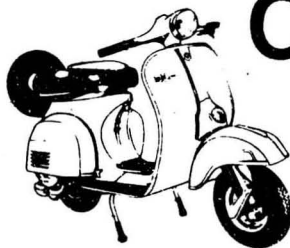
However, to their utter dismay, of the 300 Christians invited, only a dozen arrived to partake of the sumptuous feast. To add insult to injury, the priests (of the Church of North India and the Jesuits) hastened away immediately after the formalities, like the Chief Minister's speech was over.

The Chief Minister's concern over this open antagonism led him to make an unscheduled visit to the local St Paul's Cathedral to attend the midnight mass. Accompanied by district officials, Mr Azad maintained a low profile, occupying the back benches throughout the service.

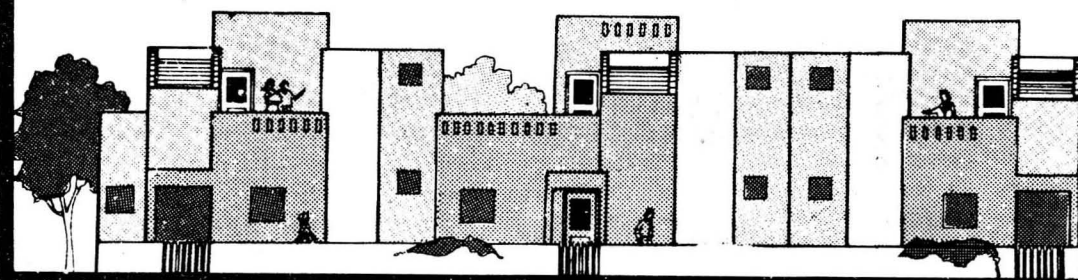
The frantic attempts to win over the Christians have convinced them that it was yet another exercise in electoral politics. Moreover, the tribal belt in Bihar is in the grip of a strong wave of the Jharkhand movement which has found the support of an increasing number of Christians.

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By A.S. Narang

# The Janata Dal: Retrospect

**T**he Janata Dal, led by V.P. Singh and named after him, was born in October 1988 at Bangalore finally seems to have put the lid on the now-on now-off talks of an across the board opposition merger with the announcement of its office bearers and Parliamentary Board. Of course, Indu Bhai Patil group of Janata Party and Bahuguna faction of Devi Lal have not reconciled to this unity and maintain the continuation of the Janata Party and Lok Dal. Yet Janata Dal now seems a reality and, therefore, major question is its claim to be a viable alternative to Congress which most opposition leaders feel is to go out of power in the next general elections.

In March 1977 Lok Sabha elections, for the first time in India, a non-Congress party became a ruling party at the centre. It conclusively proved the comment of various observers that the Congress's ability to snatch victories on a minority vote could only prevail so long as the non-Congress parties were unable to continue in alliance. In fact a hint towards this had already been given in 1967. Until 1967, there were no significant signs of a well-organised broad-based opposition party capable of challenging the Congress party either in the Lok Sabha or in most of the State Legislative Assemblies. To be sure, there were isolated instances of Congress setbacks, such as the meager five-seat plurality over the regional Gantantra Parishad in the Orissa State Assembly in 1957, or the Congress defeat at the hands of the Communists in the 1957 Kerala Assembly or in PEPUSU in 1952.

## Unity Efforts

**E**ven before 1967, attempts were made from various quarters, especially by the Socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia for anti-Congress alliance. There were, however, various factors which did not allow this unity. Yet because of heightened desperation, the electorate revolted against the Congress Party in 1967 elections. The pattern of Congress defeats, no doubt, was highly idiosyncratic related to the peculiarities of each state, with no consistency in the direction of opposition sentiments. It, however, made non-Congress parties conscious that even they could form the government. The emergence of Indira Gandhi in the Congress and the favourable conjunctions of events starting from the Bangalore session of Congress in 1969 (resulting in Congress split) to the Bangladesh war and confusion among opposition gave her the opportunity to rediscover the original momentum of the Congress and keep the opposition divided and fragmented.

Declaration of Emergency in 1975, apart from other things, put



V.P. Singh

the very survival of the non-Congress parties at stake. Therefore, the sheer necessity to exist made them join hands for allowing Congress to win 1977 elections meant legitimacy for emergency and restrictions on opposition. Thus various non-Congress parties, including the CPI (M), the

many regional parties and a group of erstwhile Congressmen and others joined hands against the Congress in March 1977 elections. Jointly contesting these various groups were able to defeat the Congress and form the government. Out of the alliance which had jointly contested the 1977 Lok Sabha elections those who had agreed to merge into a single party did so on May 1, 1977, and the Janata Party formally came into existence.

## Janata Experiment

**T**he Janata government not only failed to achieve the amelioration of conditions of the people but also could not keep its organisation intact. In 1979 it got split into two: the BLD faction left Janata and within three years came the fall of the first non-Congress government at the



Haryana Chief Minister, Devi Lal and the Janata Dal President, V.P. Singh

**Real causes of Janata's disintegration were its inability to settle leadership issue, lack of a mass-oriented socio-economic programme and perceiving the real threat to the system held out by the anti-system forces.**

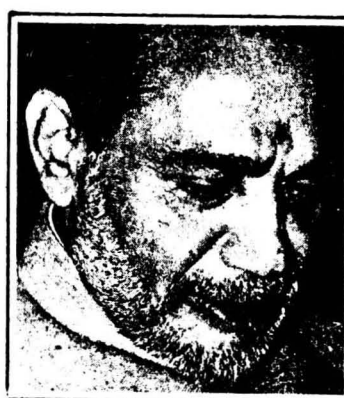
centre. Soon there occurred another split with Jan Sangh constituent leaving the party to form BJP.

There are suggestions that the Janata Party failed because it could not hold together. Internal bickerings and factionalism, no doubt, tarnished the party's overall image and ultimately led to an atmosphere that proved conducive to its disintegration. But such bickerings and factional disputes have been part of the Indian political culture for a long time and it was only to be expected that a 'party' that was put together almost overnight by bringing such diverse and disparate elements together would be prone to such divisiveness but not necessarily leading to disintegration.

Real cause of Janata's disintegration were its inability to settle leadership issue, lack of a mass-oriented socio-economic programme and perceiving the real threat to the system held out by the anti-system forces.

## DMKP

In October 1984 was formed the Dalit Mazdoor Kisan Party (DMKP) led by the octogenarian



R.K. Hegde

Choudhry Charan Singh. Concocted hastily by the fusion of Charan Singh's Lok Dal, the Democratic Socialist Party of H.L. Bahuguna, the Rashtriya Congress of Ratubhai Adani and some elements of the Janata Party disenchanted with Chandra Shekhar's leadership the party looked jinxed from the word go for the same reasons that failed Janata Party.

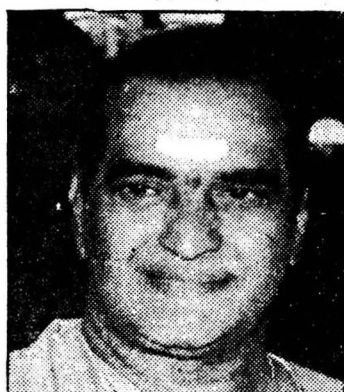
As is well known that the victory of the Congress(I) in the 1984 elections was not based on a popular or positive support to a clear socio-economic programme but on the manipulation of an explosive situation and the ambiguity of the character of its new leadership. But rhetoric cannot take any country very far, nor can cheap gimmicks create a national unity. Thus the euphoria was soon over. Mounting inflation, widespread corruption and deteriorating law and order situation has created an anti-Congress feeling.

## V.P. Singh Factor

**T**here is no doubt that after the Allahabad by-election the expectation of the emergence of an alternative to the Congress(I) has increased among both the opposition parties and the people. By July 1988 the people started discussing if V.P. Singh would be able to do what Jayaprakash Narayan did in 1977: unite the opposition to rout the Congress, particularly in north India, that is popular 'Hindi Belt'.

But mere opposition unity has no meaning is clear from 1967 and 1977 experiences as well as the resilience of the Congress colossus as manifested after these experiences. The Congress share

## N.T. Rama Rao



In terms of socio-economic Janata Dal's policy doc the foundation conference Bangalore suggests for right to work for all citizens decentralisation of panchayat level and a shift the economic policy from industrial to rural and development

of the popular vote in various elections has varied between 48 per cent to 40 per cent, with 1977 being the exception. The next voting strength has not been any single political party; this role has been filled by the various opposition parties: socialists in the first two general elections, with over 10 per cent vote, the communist party in the third general election of 1962 with almost 10 per cent, the Jan Sangh with 9.4 per cent in 1967, the Congress(J), again, with slightly more than 10 per cent votes in the mid-term poll of 1971. Then came the emergency and the extraordinary election of 1977. The united opposition garnered a record 43 per cent vote and nearly two-thirds of the Lok Sabha seats. Here astonishing was the resilience of the Congress which despite the widespread revolution against its authoritarian politics managed to retain 34.5 per cent of the total vote cast, a fact which no party in opposition has been able to perform till date.

## Meaning Unity

It is within this background that the process of opposition unity and its utility has to be understood and worked. If any party is not able to put the people's aspirations on the basis of a meaningful socio-economic programme and coherence and meaningful leadership its contribution towards stability of

In the March 1977 Lok Sabha the first time in India, a non-Congress party became a ruling party at the centre. It conclusively proved the comment of various observers that the Congress's ability to snatch victories on a minority vote could only prevail so long as the parties were unable to continue in alliance.



# Prospect And Prospect

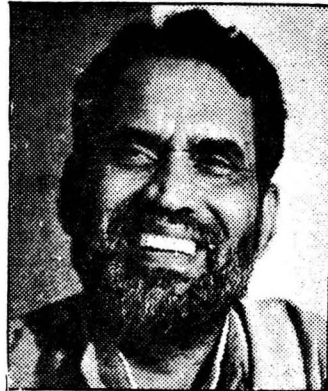
mic programmes, ment adopted by in October 1988 at the guarantee of zens, democratic power upto the ft in emphasis in om urban and d agricultural nt.

democracy will remain lim- to far there are no real alter- s to Congress either in terms gran- as or structures. only Congress(I) but other also have virtually become individual leaders. Their tutions are presidential, and ecutive committees are ted. Adhocism is the norm here. Same is true with economic programmes. party promises everything ybody bothering little for its tions and possibilities and isms of implimentation. ar formation of Janata Dal ent from this and what role ay in this atmosphere are nt questions.

## Board-based

if all as Prof Madhu Dan- te one of his interviews d the basis of the present periment is broader and at different than that of re the broad concept of sists of cocentric circles. most circle consists of cation under one party he next cocentric circle of a National People's prising the unified party al Parties. The front will ted to a common policy mme. The third concen- will consist of electoral s with parties which are e ambit of both the uni-

elections, for ongress party e centre. It nt of various ability to vote could n-Congress e in alliance.



Chandrashekar

fed party as well as the front. There will be a last concentric circle which will be joint campaigns and struggles on specific issues. This flexible approach if properly understood and implimented can achieve the maximum results both in the electoral battle and in

conomic policy from urban and industrial to rural and agricultural development. Calling for an urgent reorientation of national priorities and resource allocation, the document said that planning should be centered around human labour as the they asset.

Remunerative prices for agricultural produce and adequate doubt reliefs as also credit to farmers, who have suffered heavy debts due to unremunerative prices are the sops offered to the farming community. They will also be assured of infrastructural facilities and latest technological know-how. Manufactured goods of mass consumption will be supplied to the rural masses at reasonable prices.

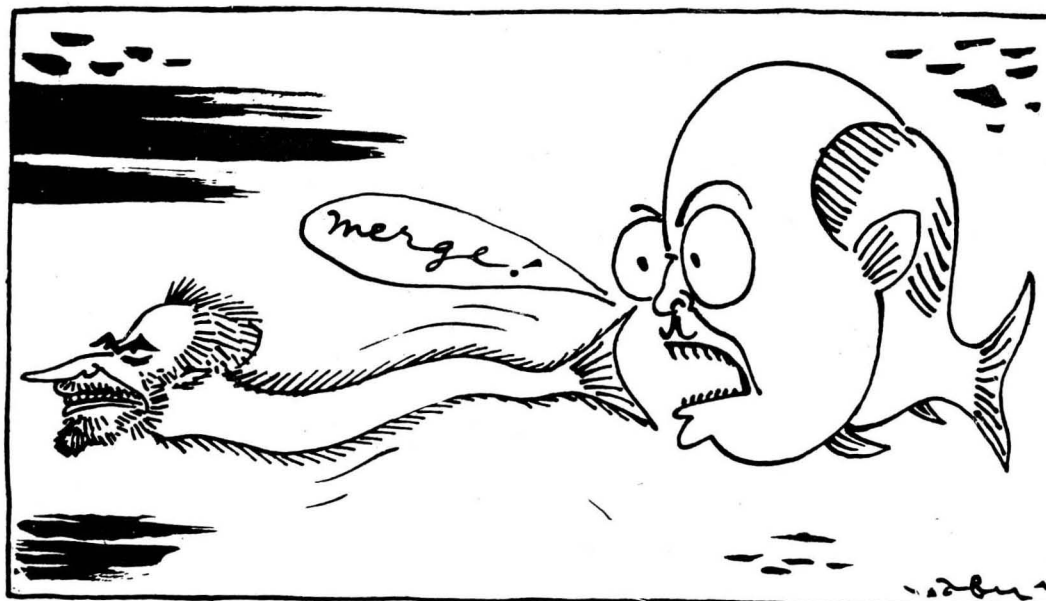
The Janata Dal has assured statutory status to the scheduled castes and tribes commission and



Ajit Singh

## Contradictions

The rural property owners want high agricultural prices and lavish government assistance to agriculture, the urban industrialists want low agricultural prices and restrictions on state expenditure.

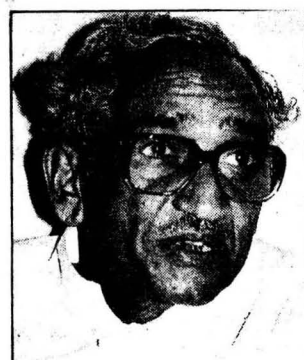


movements and struggles on people's issues. But if this leads to continuous give and take and claims and counter claims processes for shares in power, it will generate nothing more than past 1967 coalitional failures.

## The Programme

In terms socio-economic programme Janata Dal's policy document adopted by the foundation conference in October 1988 at Bangalore suggests for the guarantee of right of work for all citizens, democratic decentralisation of power upto the panchayat level and a shift in emphasis in the eco-

H.N. Bahuguna



the minorities commission to make them more effective. It has also promised to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission forthwith keeping in view the special needs of the socially and educationally backward classes. It has also promised to develop all avenues of employment for women to end discrimination and ensure their full participation in the country's development. It also says that communal harmony and mutual tolerance for the customs, beliefs and practices of each other must be the accepted norms of life. On the generation of minorities the party promised to take all steps to eliminate discrimination based on caste, creed, sex and religion as any other obstacle to equality of opportunity to all sections.

The Janata Dal's programme thus contains something for everybody. If a proper mechanism for creating a consensus model can be created thus this programme can provide a basis for equity and equality. Otherwise the contradictions of this policy are severe and can become serious in due course.

Until 1967, there were no significant signs of a well-organised, broad-based opposition party capable of challenging the Congress party either in the Lok Sabha or in most of the State Legislative Assemblies

The urban middle classes are interested in job creation for themselves rather than the economic growth and accumulation that concern the big industrialists. All this can make the state adopt contradictory policies. This is specially so because of caste factor which seems to be becoming an important base in the Janata Dal.

In caste terms Mr. V.P. Singh has especially been to woo the Harijans and minorities. On the other hand all the castes whom Mr. Devi Lal wants to unite have turbulent histories. Harijans in the countryside have been victims principally of those very groups.

Since V.P. Singh has to go populist in order to appeal directly to the voters over the heads of a quarrelsome bunch of opposition leaders whom he cannot control, he has to work to consolidate the only viable parallel electoral combine. The backward castes (non-SC) have traditionally and consistently voted against the Congress. V.P. Singh has decided to adopt this readymade constituency. So while, Mr. Devi Lal talks blunty about Ahir-Jat-Gujjar-Rajput (AJGAR) combination of the exclusion of the others Mr. V.P. Singh has to take into account SCs, STs and other backward castes.

## Caste Factor

How a reconciliation will be achieved? This is going to be a major factor in JD's role. This may give rise to the concept of a federal party or national front. But given the prevailing conditions only a front is not likely to go down well. Therefore hopes lie on the emergence of a popular leader. Here lies the challenge before V.P. Singh and the forces he has unleashed.

Let us remember that 1977 election results were interpreted by many as the victory of democracy over dictatorship but 1980 election proved that it was an over simplified interpretation. Both in 1977 and 1980 the people's mandate was not only in aspiration for the restoration of democracy but primarily the yearning for through giving changes in which would alleviate their pitiable economic conditions. Unless this can be achieved emergence or success of any party will have only short-term meanings. Therefore, all these who are concerned with the stability and cansolidation of democracy in India must understand that while creation of an alternative to Congress is both a constitutional and historical necessity. This alternative must be based on principles and not just to gain power by another elite group. If Janata Dal leadership can provide such an alternative then it will not only be a major step in building a meaningful party system but also for consolidation of democracy. And if this experiment also remains limited to struggle for power, only people's alienation from the system itself will be complete.



**D**uring the last two months, Guru's grace fell on me in a spectacular way. I was required to project the Khalsa to inter-religious gatherings in Bombay and Pune in October and in Jamshedpur in November. For the last many years, a kind of "inferiority complex" has developed in and near Guru Gobind Singh's birthday its intensity increases to frighten me into watching the hiatus between what the Guru called as his ROOP HAI KHAS and what, in the garb of the Khalsa I represent. This inferiority complex has nothing to do with a feeling of inferiority vis-a-vis others but my inner being trembles at being discovered as fake.

But the experiences of living with, talking to and mixing with people of other communities in a spiritual atmosphere has confirmed to me that despite the horrendous events of the past 5-6 years, KHALSA is not only respected and looked upto for friendship and guidance but is also invited for delivery of lectures on other communities' spiritual occasions.

Nearly six months ago, the people of Jamshedpur wanted me to share Gurmat ideas with the Sikhs on Guru Nanak's birthday, i.e. 23rd November. Since I had to coordinate my other programmes, it was decided to spend 6 days in Jamshedpur after I spent six days in CHAS—Bokaro. Since Sindri and Dhanbad were also included I was required to reach Jamshedpur around the 15th of November. Where I want to stress the relevance of Guru Gobind Singh in this article is the invitation from a Bengali Association SHREE THAKUR ANUKUL CHANDRA SATSANG YUBA SANGH Jamshedpur, which was celebrating the centenary of their spiritual master. They had heard, their Secretary wrote that I was planning to be in Jamshedpur on the 15th, why not arrive a few days earlier and address them on the 12th November. Invitation was indeed surprising but more surprising was the fact that despite the Government's propaganda and despite the unpalatable values that the Khalsa was now being associated with, the local contact's gentility and behaviour as an enviable Sikh must have influenced the organisers to invite me. The evening was memorable. All spiritual masters say the same Truth but the manner in which I was received and the manner in which what I had to say about the Khalsa, Guru Granth Sahib and the practice of spirituality in day-to-day life received full-throated applause from the following speaker and the organisers and what passed in my mind is this:

*"Oh, my Lord, Guru Gobind Singh, I am not worthy of this praise. This must be because they regard me as your roop. Only if You showed your grace to all of us and we became, in the real sense, your external and internal roop to display the same qualities, the same compassion, the same*

*courage, the same oneness, the same determination and the same dedication to God and humanity! Indeed, the whole world would still respect the Khalsa."*

I was in for greater surprises. God's grace shone more brightly when my blind Tamilian daughter, Rajlakshmi and another Punjabi Hindu daughter, Sunita, Shri J. Prakash Nanda (a renowned Guru-ka-kirtinia and Dy. General Manager, Sindri, who has sought voluntary retirement for just spreading the message of the Guru), his wife and son and myself were invited to the home of one Mr. Harihar Singh, a retired Bihari teacher, who held our Gurus in high esteem. The kirtan by Nandaji, Rajlakshmi and a few words depicting the love of Guru Gobind Singh for humanity so impressed the audience entirely of non-Sikhs that in the present atmosphere of political and religious jugglery prevailing in the Sikh leadership, such informal but sincere inter-religious devotional meetings could become the torch-bearers of spirituality. Guru Gobind Singh, who declared MANAS KI JAAT SABHE EKE PECHANBO would have been mightily pleased to see this

By B.S. Dalawari

*submit to you that the real service has to be in such a manner that we must be grateful to them that they give us the opportunity to be useful. Secondly, we must be ashamed if anyone so much as thanks us for the service, because service must be its own reward. Thirdly, it must be offered with LOVE which transcends all barriers and even the mentally retarded cases can respond to it. In fact we are mentally retarded because we do not care for the needs of our less fortunate brethren. And lastly,—above all—the service must be dedicated to the Lord whose Name should reign in our hearts. Let us NEVER become the doers otherwise we would lose the spirit of service and become haughty and high-minded."*

The whole audience reverberated with the message and the entire assembly complimented the turbaned speaker. One of the later speakers specifically referred to what Sardarji had said and said although he had never known or

when I had planned to be in that region for 18 days, he suggested that he would like to travel with me. Since he was invited by the sangat in Cuttack to sing kirtans for the inauguration of the new gurdeara building, he could spend only 4 days with me. Every morning he would get up at 3.30; both he and his wife and his son would be ready to sing the kirtan at 4.30 a.m. Later, he came to spend two days with me at Tapovan and before we arrived here, we spent two days in Nagpur, one of them in my Marathi daughter's home. Everywhere we went, we were together up at amritvela and would sing the praises of the Lord at amritvela. Alas, once we had to stay in a gurdwara and we were told that even Sukhmari Sahib would begin at 5.30 a.m. Speaking in one of the gurdwaras I brought to the notice of the sangat thus:

"There was a time when *sahajdharis* would be considered to be slow-moving in the direction of the Guru but it appears that we have now adopted the SAHAJ (comfort) and whereas Nandaji is tyar-bar-tyar for the service of the Guru, for living-in-life the dictates

**O**ur scholars will produce more investigative details about the Guru's life, our historians will bring out different interpretations, our debates and discourses will chisel our intellects. BUT FOR THE SAKE OF THE GURU WHO SACRIFICED HIS FATHER FOR US, WHO SACRIFICED HIS SONS FOR US AND WHO SACRIFICED ALL HIS LIFE FOR US, we must pledge ourselves TO LIVE THE DICTATES OF THE MASTER. Today, I am ashamed to discuss the following stories personally given to me by the Gurdwara managements at various places.

(i) The Raagi jathas invited from far off places are only commercial entrepreneurs interested only in money and they haggle about the "BEHTA" as petty merchants would do. Their lives do not correspond to what they say on stage.

(ii) Very serious and senior *Kathakars* now send their *chelas* almost as an imposition on the sangat and even without invitation when they descend they expect payment which has to be made.

(iii) When the *raagi jathas* and *Kathakars* come to the *gurparb* celebrations, their interest is not in showing themselves as the examples of the Khalsa, nor in character-building for the sangat on whom they descend. They are almost like tax-collectors and demand facilities and services as if they are the agents of a ruling class. Shining examples apart, as exceptions, the spectacle of SGPC, jathedars and sevadars MLAS, etc. among the Sikhs have become the laughing stock of the Nation.

Let us, on the birthday of our Saint-Soldier Guru who preached and practised PIETY, UNIVERSALITY, PURITY, LOVE, SACRIFICE, RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY, REVERENCE FOR INNER KNOWLEDGE, DEVOTION AND DEDICATION TO THE ENTIRE HUMANITY, pledge ourselves to take amrit in the true spirit in which Bhais Dya Singh, Dharam Singh, Mohkam Singh, Sahib Singh and Himmat Singh took by offering their heads to the Guru. Let us remember that we are entitled to be the *roop* of the Khalsa if our external symbols represent the true characteristics of the Khalsa and we are willing to follow the examples of Sahibzadas Ajit Singh, Jujhar Singh, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh.

We have deviated from the Path so much that because of the hoodwinking situation in which our leaders have behaved, led and lived in breach of Guru's discipline and purity our youth, completely misled and misguided, are acting in total violation of the principles for which Guru Gobind Singh stood. The youth is not responsible; the responsibility lies with S.G.P.C. and the jathedars whose *kathni* and *karni* were different. AJHOON KACHH BIGRIO NAHIN. Let us wake up from our slumber!

## Where is Roop of Guru Gobind Singh In the Khalsa ?

inter-mixing of humanity with the aim of living in the Lord.

The *roop* of the Khalsa CERTAINLY does not mean only the hair and the beard and a turban. That only shows the exterior, at best an external uniform but unless we have the qualities of a saint-soldier that Guru Gobind Singh produced, we cannot be his *roop*. The other day I was astonished to see one Sikh among hundred other people being singled out for a singular honour. There was an inauguration function for a welfare society interested in opening a school for mentally retarded children. All that I knew about the Sikh was that he had been working for a humanitarian organisation, the beneficiaries of which were all non-Sikhs. However, even without the Sikh knowing himself about his popularity, he was asked by the organisers whom he did not know personally to adorn the dais with other known distinguished citizens of the city. But when he was asked to say a few words, I remembered my Guru and wondered what he would say. But I was elevated in thoughts when I heard him speak thus:

*"I am glad that you wish to serve the mentally retarded, but I must*

met him, he was heartened to witness the presence of a person so dedicated. I was confirmed in my belief that what was required was the restoration of the life of the Khalsa as it was envisaged by Guru Gobind Singh and the Sikhs would certainly get back their glory.

The glory of Guru Gobind Singh lies not only in what he was, what he did, what he said and the valour he represented but specially in what he achieved by way of transformation of society. The *sahajdharis*, on whom we look with a sense of superiority were as much as loved ones as the Khalsa and he was clear in his mind that all humanity was one.

In my recent travels, I came across a remarkable example of a dedicated Sikh, whom we would call *sahajdharis*, because he was not a member of the Khalsa brotherhood. Perhaps, his name is well-known among the Sangats throughout India. He is Mr. J. Prakash Nanda, Dy. General Manager, Sindri Fertilisers Corporation, who has now sought premature retirement (nearly 4 years before due date) so that he can spread the message of the Gurus through kirtan. He is a renowned *kirtinia* of the Guru and

of Guru Gobind Singh, we are immersed in the comfort of *inaya*, drenched in the lowliness of our worldly chicanery. Would it behoove us now to consider *sahajdharis* as something less loving to the Guru as ourselves."

Apart from Nandaji, I was accompanied by two Hindu girls, whom I call my daughters, a blind Tamilian girl, Rajlakshmi and a Punjabi girl, Sunita. They are ever prayer companions and whenever I go to Delhi or whenever they come to Tapovan, they sing Gurbani—the former for 13 years and the latter for two years—with me at amritvela. Both of them contribute Daswand in accordance with Sikh principles. Sometimes, I wonder how people without realising their own shortcomings come and suggest to me in a gurdwara that this blind Tamilian girl should be administered amrit. Without realising the significance of Amrit—OFFERING ONE'S HEAD TO THE GURU—themselves they consider the ceremonial achievement more important than the actual contents. I humbly tell them that I am an AMRITDHARI Sikh, but I am ashamed I have not imbibed the instruction of Guru Gobind Singh to the extent that these my daughters have done.



# Rejuvenation Of Khalsa Panth From Present Debris

By Maj. Gen. Joginder Singh (Retd.)

**T**he aim of the appeal is to act as a pathfinder for the rejuvenation and reconstruction of one Guru Sangat from the present debris, fragmentation and diversities, (based on Guru Nanak's concept of 'Dharma'). In order to succeed in the mission it is necessary to replace and substitute the current Akali culture from the public mind, which has gradually destroyed Sikh traditions, beliefs and institutions, and has become a part of the greater 'National Degeneration'. The second important point is to bring in a reformation to the current "Sant and Granthi" cult which has managed to project a brahmanical ritual way of worship, and has re-introduced expensive methods and superstitions against which Guru Nanak laboured so hard. A peculiar fundamentalism has also crept in, and the followers of such cults consider themselves only the pure ones, full of ego and do not realize that they are following shadows only and not the substance, and consider an average person more or less a shudra.

*Hum kia, hum karenge, hum murakh gawar,  
Karnē-wala visaria duje bhai pyar.* (AGP 39)

The net result of all these misconceptions is that we are constantly being led astray, and our polluted minds are like dirty sandy sea shore, which requires cleansing and purification continuously through Gurbani, as sea waves continue to reshape the sandy sea shore. Shri Guru Granth Sahib is our Guru and Gurbani is our guide. A "sewa" and "simran" atmosphere has to be created which could help the control of "Man, bukh karam" i.e. "mind, speech and action".

*Sahse jio mileen hai, kit sanjam dhota jae.  
Man dhowo shabad lago, har sion raho chit lae.*

The soul is covered by doubt: by what discipline is it cleaned. Become attached to Nam and thus cleanse the mind, and fill the mind with the thought of God.

The present time is an age of "Kaliyuga" i.e. age of darkness. Guru Nanak's definition of Kaliyuga is:- *Kaliyuga rath agan ka, kur agey rathwaho*. The present time is some-what similar to the time before the birth of Guru Nanak. The Guru has himself described the time and the plight of the common people. It is mentioned in Shri Guru Granth Sahib at few places and the following extract from page 145 gives his own bew-

ilderment representing the prevailing state,....."*Haun bhal vikunni hoi, Andhere rah na koi, which homein kar dukh roi. Koh Nanak kin bidh gat hoi*" but he gives the answer himself in one line, "*Pure ki kar karam kamaiey, Gur natti ap gawae Nam dhiaiey*". *Sat Sangat kaisi janiey, jithey eko Nam vakhaniey....* (AGP 72).

The current down-fall started soon after the liberation of Gurdwaras was complete, with the enactment of S.G.P.C. Act in 1925. Acrimonious discussions and activities started for the use or misuse of Guru's trust money and by ignoring Sikh ethics resulting in Guru's Curse.

*Satguru kian phitakien mang thake sansar,  
sachha shabad na sewio, sab kaj swaranhar.* (AGP 34)  
*Amrit chhod vikhia lobhane sewa karen wadani,  
Apna dharama gwaweh bujhe nahin, andin dukh bahani.* (AGP 31)

## An appeal to the followers of Sikh Dharma

Since 1947 the Community has had many jolts, some of them are self created. Even greater shocks and slanders may have to be faced in the foreseeable future. There is only one course open to face the calamity, which is already there, and to face the coming events that are looming large on the horizon—Guru has given us an all time advice to follow—i.e. "Gurmat", which is sure to work ultimately to the good, if we follow faithfully the Sat Guru given ways, and discard "Manmat" and ego, which is being followed by one and all, like children throwing stones towards the sky, that hit their own faces back.

"First Aid" is—*hoe ikattar milo mere bhai, Dubda dur karo livlai* (AGP 1185).

*Yeh man chalto, sachh ghar baise, Nanak Nam adharo.  
Ape mel milae karta, lage sachh piyaro.* (AGP 938).

With the Holy Name, as ones foundation, this wavering mind is firmly held and in Truth it dwells, and when in Truth, one loves the Lord, then the Lord himself grants union with himself. It is appreciated that everyone may not accept this appeal, but God willing majority of simple folk who are more victims of circumstances will truthfully follow.

Lord grant us faith, trust in Thee and give us light and understanding so that we may know what pleases Thee. Save us, O Lord,

Since 1947 the community has had many jolts, some of them are self created. Even greater shocks and slanders may have to be faced in the foreseeable future. There is only one course open to face the calamity and to face the coming events that are looming large on the horizon—Guru has given us an all time advice to follow—i.e. Gurmat.

Those young men who have taken up seriously the cause of Sikh sufferings, should isolate the unsocial elements who kill for the sake of extracting money or are acting as agents of certain agencies and act under the guidance and protection of disruptive forces, and expose those who are bent upon creating bad name for the followers of the faith but are in reality imposters. No innocent person should be killed by a member of Sikh faith and belonging to Sikh commonwealth.

from the five obstacles of lust, anger, greed, pride and attachment, and keep us always attached to Thy Lotus Feet.

### Minimum Individual Action

- In the morning recite slowly *Mulmantra*, five *pauries* of Japji Sahib then contemplate and reflect on what has been read, and request Sat Guru by "direct dialling" to give faith, courage and wisdom to understand and follow what Guru Nanak has explained in each line. Ask someone who has knowledge if you do not know and arrange for some wise person to explain the same to the Sangat.
- Rest of the day, while doing your normal daily duties, keep repeating within the mind without even uttering out-wardly, "Ek Oonkar Satnam Waheguru, Sat Guru grant faith", exchange no hot words with anyone and thus develop humility.
- In the evening minimum prayer should be four lines from *Reh-Ras* "*Harke jan Satgur Sat*

day, start the second Path on the same day and Bhog should be held on the two younger Sahibzada's Shahidi day, the *Bhog* of Third Path on Guru Gobind Singh's birthday, the *Bhog* of Fourth on Hoola Mohalla day, the *Fifth Bhog* on Baisakhi day and the *Sixth Bhog* on Guru Arjan's Shahidi day. This requires a lot of patience, restraint, introspection and use of "Gurmat" to avoid getting involved with those who lack faith in this effort and may even try to sabotage it, or enter your Guru Sangat as imposters.

b) Arrange Gurbani discourses as frequently as possible and sing Lord's praises through *Kirtan*.  
c) If during *Kirtan*, Gurbani discourses, or before or after *Ardas*, or otherwise after a spiritual session anybody tries to disturb your bliss and peace of mind, by indulging in party or local politics, stop him by a unanimous request without indulging in the use of hot words; and if he still persists, leave the congregation enmass even if you have to leave without taking *Parshad* and go home singing *mulmantra*. DO NOT ATTEND ANY POLITICAL MEETING OR INDULGE IN PARTY SLANDERS. We should realize that in the present day atmosphere even a Sarbat Khalsa meeting is likely to generate political controversies which have to be left for a subsequent period. Learn to differentiate between a political gathering and local welfare and development activities.

*Mittar ghanere kar thakki, mera dukh kate koe,  
Mil pritam dukh katya, shabad milawa hoe.* (AGP 37)

d) During this period, use no intoxicant; if you are addicted request Guru to help you; cut down drastically lavish living, marriage expenses and reduce the marriage party members to eleven or less. This is to be a voluntary effort and no pressure will be used to enforce these reforms. Remember this is the starting point only of building a Gurmat character.

Those young men who have taken up seriously the cause of Sikh sufferings, should isolate the unsocial elements who kill for the sake of extracting money or are acting as agents of certain agencies and act under the guidance and protection of disruptive forces, and expose those who are bent upon creating bad name for the followers of the faith but are in reality imposters. No innocent person should be killed by a member of Sikh faith and belonging to Sikh commonwealth.

*purkha bino karon gur pass; Ham kire kiram satguru Samai; Kar daya nam pargass-Mere mit Gurdev moko Ram Nam pargass, Gurmat nam mera pran sakhai, har kirat hamri raheras*". While reciting these lines imagine Guru Ram Dass is begging this gift from Guru Amar Dass, at Goindwal Sahib, and we should also bow to them to grant this gift by taking mercy on us.

d) Before going to sleep, look back at the days doings and request Lord to excuse the lapses of the past 24 hours, and to guide the activities during the following day. Do not fall into a mistaken notion of committing the same omission again and again and yet hope Lord's mercy. Thank Lord for his kindness and gifts, which he has bestowed throughout the day.  
e) Share your wealth, belongings, food, clothing, etc. with the unfortunate victims of communal riots, victims of gangsters, the current repression and flood sufferers. Do some social work such as helping orphans and widows. Sarb Dukh ka aukhad Nam.

### Collective Action

a) Start Sadharan Path series in each Gurdwara, even in the remotest village, in individual homes where possible, by combined voluntary effort. Permanently employed Granthis may take part, but do not hire special Pathies for this purpose. Start the first Path on Guru Nanak's birthday and the *Bhog* should be held on Guru Teg Bahadur's Shahidi



## Maha Kavi Vallathol

# A Tree Planted By The God

**V**allathol Narayana Menon, Maha Kavi (great poet), Kerala board of freedom, founder of Kerala Kalamandalam and the first poet Laureate (Aasthana Mahakavi) of the erstwhile composite state of Madras was born on 16 October 1878, in a middle class Nair family at Chenara in the Tirur taluk of Kerala. His father was Malhisseri Damodaran Elayathu and his mother, Vallathol Parvathy Amma.

He had no schooling in the modern sense of word. At the age of five he became the disciple of a private tutor who according to the custom of the time, gave him lessons in Malayalam and Sanskrit for three years. His "higher" education took place under Ramunni Menon, his maternal uncle. He was a Brahmachari and an Ayurvedic physician besides being a Sanskrit scholar. He used to treat all his patient free. From him the boy got an excellent grounding in Sanskrit language and literature. Even though his uncle wanted him to study Sanskrit further, he was not interested. His sole interest was poetry.

At the age twelve he published the works "*Kirata Satakam*" and "*Vyasavatharam*". When 16, he won the first prize in poetry conducted by the Kerala Bhasha Poshini Sabha in Calicut. In 1897 his mother died, but his father continued to encourage him in his poetry pursuits. Royal patronage for poets had long since ceased to exist and poetry writing was no more a means of livelihood.

Vallathol set an example to others by deciding to earn his daily bread with his pen. He brought out '*Rituvilasom*' (in imitation of *Ritusamharom*) and '*Arogyachintamani*', an Ayurvedic text in Malayalam were very soon.

He married Chitazhi Madhavi Amma, another uncle's daughter in 1901. Next year a daughter was born. But in 1903 his father who was a pillar of strength to him passed away. He was in financial difficulties and began practicing as an Ayurveda physician.

The call of poetry was irresistible. In 1905 he became the manager of a printing press in Trichur at a salary of Rs.30/- a month. There he finished translating *Valmiki Ramayana* into Malayalam in two years. By this time Vallathol's hearing began to fail and available treatment did not help. This prompted him to write '*Badhira Vilapam*' (lament of the deaf). He left the press job and settled down in Vanneri his wife's place.

It was at this time (1911-13) that he completed '*Chitrayoga*' his

Mahakavya in classical Sanskrit style. By that time, new ideas and concepts had entered Malayalam literary scene and the '*Khanda Kavya*' (a poetical piece) had come to stay. Vallathol's first Khand kavya was '*Bhandhanasthanaya Anirudhan*' (Anirudhan the imprisoned) and it made him renowned.

### Freedom Spirit

**B**y this time the entire country was boiling over with nationalistic fervor and the fight for freedom. Vallathol broke away from tradition and began writing melodious poems for the cause, for the first time in Dravidian metres.

In 1915, he took up the editorship of the literary section of *Keralodayam* weekly published from Trichur. During this period he translated into Malayalam four Puranas, *Markandeya*, *Padma*, *Vamana* and *Matsya*. Soon after, he left *Keralodayam* and joined *Atmaposhini* as its editor. It was at that time he wrote '*Mathru Vandana*', exhorting Indians to eschew inequalities that prevailed in society and work for the freedom of mother India.

He was following the activities of Indian National Congress for sometimes and had written a few poems eulogizing it. When Gandhiji took up its leadership he identified himself with it and wrote '*Ente Gurunathan*' (my preceptor) in which he paid obeisance to Gandhiji as his guru and compared him with Sibi, Buddha, Rantideva and other Indian legendary figures. In obedience to the boycott call of the Congress, he withdrew his children from schools and taught them privately. He declined an award from the Prince of Wales. He met Gandhiji during Vaikom Satyagraha and paid his respects. He partook in the Indian National Congress annual sessions of Madras and Calcutta. He defied a government ban and hoisted the National flag at Calicut during the Swadeshi Exhibition of 1930. It was here that he read out his famous poem '*Pora, Pora*' which began with the concept—"Not enough, Not enough, higher and higher Day after day, Let the holy flags of goddess Bharat Maata rise".

During this period he brought out '*Disciple and son*' in which he describes the quarrel between Lord Parasuram and Ganesha and says that the blood of the ancients in India never tolerated injustice even from gods. Another Khanda kavya, '*Mary Magdalena*' was also brought out during this period, besides Malayalam

By K.P.R. Pillai

rendering of Bhasa's works.

Vallathol's collected works were published in eight volumes under the title "*Sahitya Manjar*". The Travancore Maharaja presented him with a gold bracelet called '*Veerasunkhala*' and the Cochin Maharaja conferred on him the title "*Kavi Sarvabhooman*" (emperor of poets).

Meanwhile the ballet from '*Kathakkali*', Kerala's unique contribution to Indian performing arts

Religion and such man-made divisions never bothered Vallathol. In *Mary Magdalene* he wrote, "This music of the flute, incomparable and fair, was the teaching of Christ, who was none other than Krishna". His approach to the Holy Prophet was also the same. *Corrected Horoscope* and *Allah* are two of his poems about the life of the Holy Prophet.

which had been languishing for almost a century for want of patronage was facing sure extinction. With the help of Mukundan Raja of Manakkulam, he formed the 'Kerala Kalamandalam' at Kunnamkulam in 1930 to resuscitate *kathakali* and other Kerala art forms. Later it was shifted to Cheruthuruthi (1937) on the banks of river Bharatpuzha which had witnessed some of the most heroic acts in Kerala's ancient history. Kalamandalam also took up revival of Mohiniyattam (The dance of the temptress), another Kerala art form facing extinction. Pt. Jawa-

harlal Nehru who presided over the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Kalamandalam donated Rs.50,000 to it. Nehru also presented the poet with a "*maniharam*" (bejewelled neck chain) on behalf of the people of Trichur. He was awarded "Padma Bhushan" in 1955. Nehru's contribution helped to get for kalamandalam a new location and buildings at Vettikkathiri. During this period his other important works were "*Father and Daughter*" and a translation of *Sakuntalam*, '*Vilasa Latika*' and '*Amaruka Sataka*'.

His translation of *Rig Veda* into Malayalam was completed in 1958. As fate would have it, it was destined to be his last literary effort. Before it was released he was laid up with cirrhosis of the liver and he passed into eternity on 13 March 1958, at the age of 79. He was cremated in the Kalamandalam premises.

### The Trinity

**V**allathol entered the scene of Malayalam poetry when two other 'giants' too were there and together they were called the "Trinity" of Malayalam poesy at that time. One was Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, the second was Kumaran Asan. The first one was a scholar of great erudition, but being a government servant did not touch subjects like nationalism, patriotism and freedom. Asan too was equally scholarly and erudite. Ulloor makes it clear like Magha in his introduction to his *Mahakavya*, "*Uma Kerala*" that it was not for those who were not learned. Even though he did later touch upon subjects like universal love, casteism, untouchability, etc., by and large his poems were capsules of philosophical and other ideas much beyond the common man. When Asan questioned the relevance of a *mahakavya* like '*Chitrayoga*' (he himself never wrote one) in the then existing context, Vallathol was quite ready to adapt himself to *khandakavyas* and Dravidian meters. To compare and contrast the three will be a herculean job for the best of literary critics. All three have written about morality—Ulloor wrote *Pingala*, Asan wrote "*Karuna*" and Vallathol's contribution was *Mary Magdalene*. No study has yet been made to compare and evaluate the three gems; but one would wish that such an attempt be made.

### Three-In-One

**S**ardar K.M. Panicker said that Vallathol was in effect

what we would today call a "three-in-one", three poets rolled into one. He began and ended as a classicist, in between he was a progressive and nationalist. He wrote poems too show his revulsion against the French invasion of Algeria and about Ghanaian independence. He refers to the wheel in the national flag as Vishnu Chakra represented to cut off the necks of injustice and exploitation. Even though some critics complain that his poesy had greater sensuous beauty and felicity of expression, it was not true. Some of his nationalistic writings were truly prophetic. Years before the attainment of Independence he wrote that our country will shake off its shackles not to run amok like an elephant in heat destroying everything in its path, but to extend a helping hand to other animals in captivity. For him "captivity was captivity even in a resplendent golden cage".

Religion and such man-made divisions never bothered him. In *Mary Magdalene* he wrote, "this music of the flute/incomparable and fair/was the teaching of Christ/who was none other than Krishna". His approach to the Holy Prophet was also the same. "*Corrected Horoscope*" and "*Allah*" are two of his poems about the life of the Holy Prophet.

Nationalism is like the elephant which the seven blind men saw. *Ramayana* says that one's motherland is superior even to heaven. But an English saying defines it as the religion of hell. Einstein called nationalism the "measles of mankind" and Dr. Johnson said it was scoundralism. Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale extolled its virtues.

This divergence emerges from the fact that there are two types of nationalism even as there are two sides to the coin i.e., nationalism of the heart and nationalism of power. The first is heroic, emotional and catholic while the second is fanatic, material and tribal. Vallathol belonged to the first variety. He, like Gandhiji, hated oppression, not oppressor. In the lightning like sword-play of the proud soldier, in the shy look which the doe-eyed one places on her beloved, and in the sweat-stained beatuous flower-like cheeks of the child who is playing, "Oh muse beautiful, I see the splendorous presence thine". That was his motto.

Beloved of Gandhiji and Panditji, Vallathol belonged to that group of Titans who are compared to trees which are planted by God to give shade and solace to generations that come after them.



## Film Festival: 1989

# Craze For Uncensored Films

By S.S. Bhattacharya

**N**ow an international film festival is not only a forum for interaction of ideas and cinematic experiences but also a licence to our audiences to see uncensored foreign films.

A section of our audience in the capital, who cannot think of cinema other than entertainment, misuse the privilege of an international film festival searching for the most primitive of instincts on the celluloid. Since the festival films do not fall under the purview of censorship and every time few films invariably hit the headlines for explicit sex scenes, the craze for 'sexpulsive' films is gradually increasing. More so, audiences are aware that these films would never be released commercially without drastic cut so, festival is a licence to them.

However, this licence many a times led to unpleasant events in the past. During the 10th IFFI at Mavalankar auditorium (Delhi) 'Focus on Latin America' was organised. There was virtually a stampede on the evening Brazilian director Bruno Barreto's 'Dona Flor and her two husbands' (starring Sony Bagra) was shown. The irresistible ticketless viewers who flocked there reading the salacious

treatment of the film in the newspapers tried to make forced entry which ultimately caused the stampede.

Few years ago, in another case, some Delhi cinema hall proprietors were very agitated as the festival films supplied to them could hardly draw any crowd as there were no sex scenes in them and they blamed the organiser for favouring some cinema halls while adopting a step-motherly attitude towards them.

Though these are isolated incidents, they reflect the psychological trend of our audiences and obviously the question arises whether our audiences are becoming voyeur or is it the culmination of their deprived and repressed psyche?

Sudhir Kakar, the renowned Psychoanalyst, interpreted cinema as 'a collective fantasy or Group Daydream for they contain unconscious material and hidden wishes of a vast number of people in the audience'. If we go by this definition, the craze for uncensored films only proves that these films are closer to fantasy and hidden wishes of our audiences because they show all, reveal all and nothing is left for the imagination of the audience. The reality of raw

passion, bed scenes and bizarre sexual perversion are the common ingredients of these films and the sex revolution of sixty made this trend widely popular. Even the serious film makers blend eroticism so smoothly in the plot that critics never call it obscenity rather they praise it as a work of art.

**The government should regularly conduct field study and research to know how far films correspond to the need and interest of the viewers and act accordingly.**

In India, film makers and the audiences were exposed to these erotic films during the international film festivals of 1965 and 1969. There was an all-round scramble to get tickets for some films like *Hireninus Marken*, *The Girl on a Motorcycle*, *If Benjamin*, etc.

These films were the eye opener for our commercial film makers. They found this trend viable for box office success and started disrobing females and exploiting their figures to titillate the audiences and this tradition of imitation is continuing unabated. However, our commercial film makers could not go as far as their counterparts in the West as the censor board remained a barrier to them.

However, the ever increasing craze for sex films is a post-independence phenomenon. During British period the growth and development of our cinema was rather steady and was in the equal footing with other film producing countries and there was no interference unless it violated the communal harmony or incited the public against the British rule. Kissing, leg and belly shows, provocative scenes were considered harmless and no moral stigma was ever attached to it but the transition of our cinema from the pre-independence to post-independence period was not a smooth and balanced one as the film censorship in free India deprived the adult audiences of achieving a balanced state of emotional and mental development. In other free and developed

societies this sort of interference in individual's freedom of choice in ideas, expression, beliefs and entertainment is absent and their audiences never indulge in voyeurism like ours.

Now, our common audiences, in search of uncensored films becoming member of film societies and also flocking to various cultural unit of foreign embassies in the capital and vitiating the atmosphere congenial for promoting film culture. Now it seems that the very purpose with which the film festivals were organised and the film societies formed, has been totally defeated.

Now to cope with the prevailing trend which is more or less common in other big cities too, the government should if not possible to bring radical changes, at least amend the existing censorship policy so that it reflects the popular sentiment of the viewers. More so, government should regularly conduct field study and research to know how far films correspond to the need and interest of the viewers and act accordingly. Otherwise, with emotionally and psychologically sick audiences our voyage into 21st century would be a disaster.

# Unrecognised Schools Dangerous

By Parminder Singh Gujral

**U**nrecognised private schools wearing the coronet of convent or public schools are a black spot in the name of education. They wear masks of learning, the teachers pretend themselves as solmons, but in reality they are neither institutions of learning nor their teachers are intellectuals, they are average persons with average qualifications and average intelligence, in fact they are parasites on education as their sole motive is to mint money, let alone imparting good education and making children as promising citizens of tomorrow.

Wordsworth says "child is the father of man" and Herbet Hoover says "Children are our most valuable resources" and Cox opines "children in a family are like flowers in a bouquet: there is always one determined to face in an opposite direction from the way the arranger desires". Children and schools are part and parcel of each other, they are reach other's shadow. Schools have great moral responsibility towards a child. The path it shows the child should tread on. The school is the actual foundation stone of child on which

the future wall of his career is to be erected. Just as a building can be strong only if the foundation is strong, a child's foundation can be good only if his schooling is good and purposeful and if the schooling is shaky, it is but natural that a student's future cannot be stable and such children shall have tremendous impediments when they climb the ladder of higher education.

Unrecognised schools in Delhi are spreading like plague, distributing pollution in the environment of education adding nothing to the knowledge of the child but merely playing a fool with him, for a child, who is yet to step in the vast ocean of life, know pros and cons of different aspects, become receptive and inquisitive, intelligent and ambitious, agile like a deer, possess a multi-track mind, successful, etc. In short, a child is expected to be a jack of everything and a master of something. Can such schools enable the child to wear the cloak of a responsibility? It is indeed a knotty crossword puzzle!

A flood of light can also be thrown on the plight of VIII class students who after passing out from such unrecognised schools

become frustrated, they feel down-trodden and neglected and they feel that "Life is like an onion, peel of layer after layer and there is nothing in it". They also echo words of William Shakespeare, father of English drama - "Life is a tale, told by an idiot, full of sound and fury and signifying nothing". The reason for this dejection of life is that they are neither admitted in government schools, nor are they welcome in the recognised convent and public schools. They become outcasts. Such students often remain on the horns of a dilemma, their careers receive a lightening shock, their life resembles a ship without a rudder and a mast. It is indeed a bolt from the blue for such students. Their position is like a withered rose that has neither fragrance nor beauty to fascinate and bewitch the passers by. The students of an unrecognised schools faces a similar position because he fails to prove his mettle in the field of education where brilliant stars of elite schools are performing, his rosy dream to succeed in life, ends in smoke and he loses the race of great competition because he is no match for

his competitors. Such a student becomes a pitiful weakling floundering in the quagmire of unreason and making ass of himself. On the chess board of life, he becomes a helpless pawn pitted against the mighty. Life plays with him just as a kitten with a ball. Such a student cannot face intelligent students of good schools. He is indeed a David against a Goliath.

The Central Board of Secondary Education should make a thorough and extensive survey of such unrecognised schools and money spinning institutions who are farce in the name of education. They are bitter foes of learning and good educational institutions. The Board must rise to the occasion and see that in how much water their boats are capable of sailing. The Board should either recognise these schools if they really stand on the scale of recognition, if they really maintain the standards of education as prescribed by the Board or ring down the final curtain on them so that these schools stop playing a drama behind the stage and not wreck the previous careers of countless freshers. The evil has to be nipped in the bud.

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## Professor Grammar

Useful rules to help you with English grammar



Hello !

One of the dilemmas of the English language is when to use *make* or *do*. In some contexts these two words have a similar meaning. However, there's a rule for everything!

### RULES!!!

*Make* usually carries the idea of creation/construction.

### EXAMPLE

John *make* a cake  
do is usually associated with work.

### EXAMPLE

John *did* his home work  
Many grammarians believe that there are too many exceptions to these rules. This is nonsense of course! There are no exceptions in English-just variations. You may find some variations in the exercise. Try and fill in the gaps in Exercise A with *do* or *make*, then check your answers at the end.

### EXERCISE A)

- Will you \_\_\_\_\_ me a cup of coffee.
- I will \_\_\_\_\_ my best.
- I never \_\_\_\_\_ the washing up.
- Don't \_\_\_\_\_ a mess.
- I'd like to \_\_\_\_\_ you an offer.
- Do you \_\_\_\_\_ aerobics?
- Don't \_\_\_\_\_ any aerobics?
- Will you \_\_\_\_\_ me a favour?
- Can you \_\_\_\_\_ the Waltz?
- Did I \_\_\_\_\_ a mistake?
- I haven't had time to \_\_\_\_\_ the accounts.
- I will \_\_\_\_\_ a date to see them.
- I'll never \_\_\_\_\_ business with them again.
- Are you here to \_\_\_\_\_ trouble?
- Can you \_\_\_\_\_ the ironing for me?

- You should \_\_\_\_\_ a casserole.
- They can \_\_\_\_\_ a cabinet for you in a week
- I'd love to \_\_\_\_\_ some more exercise!!
- These windows need cleaning. Can you \_\_\_\_\_ them?
- Can you \_\_\_\_\_ some typing for me?

*Make* and *do* are also used in many idioms. Idioms are a problem though. You have to learn each one as you come across it. There are no rules to help you work out which word to use where.

You can look words up in a dictionary but if you haven't got one, you'll have to *make do* with this page. Here are the meanings of some idioms using *make* and *do*. Read the definitions then use each idiom to complete the sentences in Exercise B.

*do away with*-cancel, abolish, get rid of  
*do up-repair*, redecorate  
*do with-make use of*, benefit from  
*do without-manage without*, forgo  
*make do-manage*, use (in place of something else)  
*make certain-check*  
*make it-get* somewhere in time  
*make for-go* towards  
*make up for-compensate*  
*make light of-pretend* something isn't serious

### EXERCISE B)

- I think the train leaves at 4p.m. but you'd better ring the enquiry office to \_\_\_\_\_
- The train leaves in ten minutes. If you don't hurry up we won't \_\_\_\_\_
- They decided to \_\_\_\_\_ the Sunday train service because there were so few passengers.
- He said we should \_\_\_\_\_ the town centre then we'll see the restaurant near the town hall.
- He tried to \_\_\_\_\_ it but I think he was really quite upset.
- The holiday company gave the tourists a rebate to \_\_\_\_\_ the inferior accommodation
- I feel tired I could \_\_\_\_\_ an early night
- I haven't got a bottle opener. Could you \_\_\_\_\_ with this pen-knife instead?
- We'll have to \_\_\_\_\_ the house before we try to sell it.
- Can you \_\_\_\_\_ your dressing gown? There's no more room in the suitcase.

### Answers (Professor Grammer)

A) 1. make, 2. do, 3. do, 4. make, 5. make, 6. do, 7. make, 8. do, 9. do, 10. make, 11. do, 12. make, 13. do, 14. do, 15. do  
B) 1. make certain, 2. make it, 3. do away with, 4. make for, 5. make light of, 6. make up for, 7. do with, 8. make do, 9. do up, 10. do without

## Blunders And Bungles

### Discharged

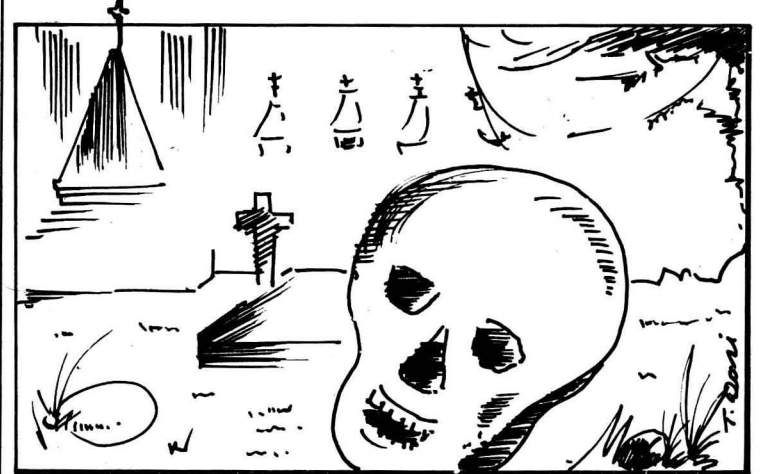
A Royal Air Force airman was surprised to receive notice that he was to be discharged from the service. He was even more surprised when he read the reason he was pregnant! The computer had made an error.

### Iron Lady

What Mrs Thatcher's closest friends are wondering is whether, as the signs suggest, she is beginning to suffer from metal fatigue.

(The Guardian)

## Still In Mystery The Screaming Skull

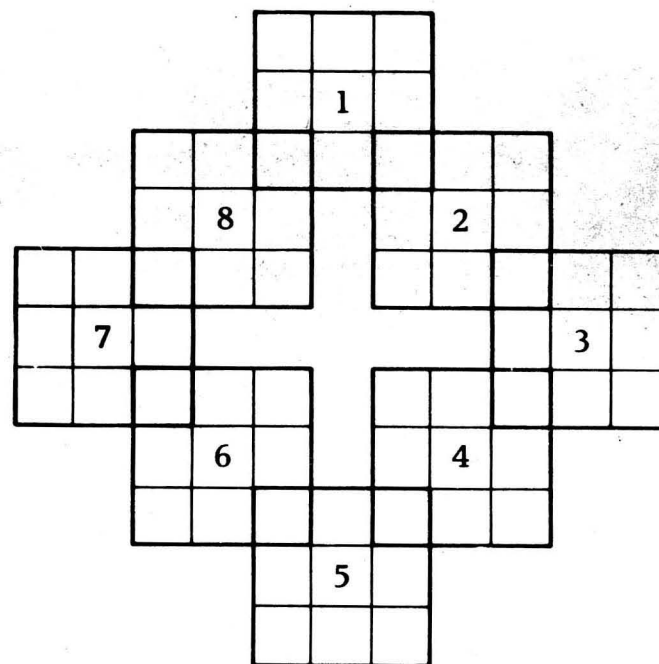


In the 17th century, a girl called Anne Griffiths was savagely attacked by robbers at her home, Burton Agnes Hall, in Yorkshire, England. She died soon after but not before she made a rather strange request. She asked that her head be buried in the house. Her request was ignored and she was buried in the village

churchyard. After the funeral, screams were heard in the house. The noise was so terrifying, the girl's body was exhumed and the skull was placed in the wall of the staircase at Burton Agnes Hall. The screams stopped immediately, and the house has been quiet ever since.

## Eight Eights

The answers to the clues are all eight-letter words which go in the eight spaces around the appropriate number. Each answer starts in the top left-hand corner and goes clockwise.



- Purple precious stone
- Spiny nocturnal mammal
- Columbus, for instance
- Surname; arrow-maker
- Young plant
- One is descended from this
- American lift
- Sudden great misfortune

### Answers (Eight Eights)

- Amethyst
- Hedgehog
- Explorer
- Fletcher
- Seedling
- Ancestor
- Elevator
- Disaster

Sources: BBC English; Amazing Mysteries and Phenomena; Amazing Blunders and Bungles; Word Teaser





# Was Hadlee Here Only For The Record?

By I. Gupta

may hurt, was Hadlee following the Boycott path. His automatonish professionalism hurt. A man, whose target once achieved should ditch his team, the adoring public and the spirit of the game so easily.

His team mates, who for obvious reasons would prefer to remain anonymous, however, had second thoughts about Hadlee's interest in the tour even before the tournament got underway. 'Richard has little interest in the matches', said one of the younger kiwi. Hadlee, they said, could not be bothered with the batting or fielding. Manager Bob Cunis may not agree, "Hadlee's batting style is so unpredictable. Had he been serious about his batting, he would have created some more record by now" he says in the superstar's defence.

Actually, the crux of the situation is that Hadlee occupies such an impregnable position in the team, that no one dare question his actions. Not even skipper John Wright. 'Hadlee is a total team man. I can never believe that he is here only for the sake of his record.' Hadlee, one feels, is like Gulliver in the land of lilliputs.

The superstar's disenchantment with India dates back to 1976. And



same period. And he decided to return, albeit his denials, at the first opportunity.

After the Bombay Test while on a visit to a travel agency office in the hotel complex, Hadlee realised that the venues for the one-dayers were obscure little towns by his standard. So when opportunity presented itself in the form of a recurring four year old injury, Hadlee did not waste time in grabbing it. He made known his intention of returning to Christchurch after the Hyderabad Test. He impressed upon his captain that the swollen ankle needed immediate rest. He made certain his ploy choice in the matter.

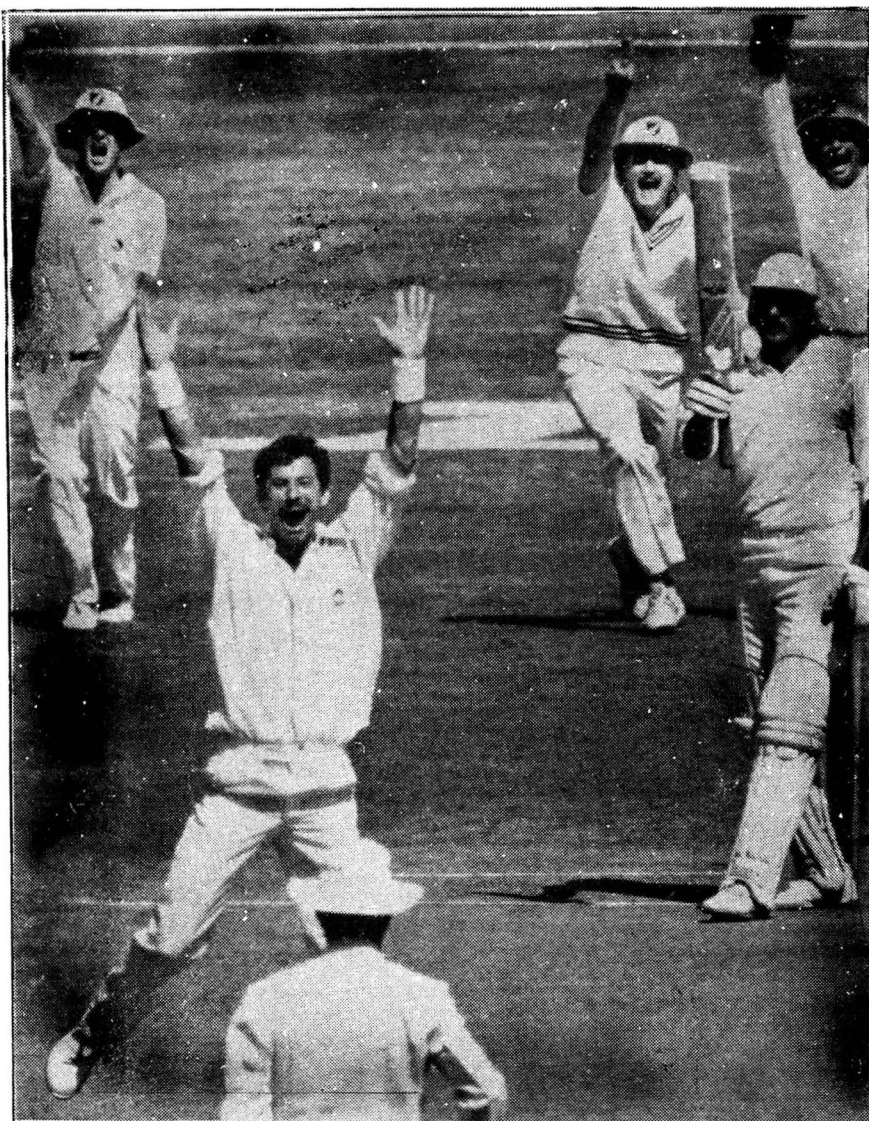
The Indian Cricket Control Board also had little choice. Though secretary Ranbir Singh may claim to the contrary, the awarding of the one-dayers to such non-descriptive places was but another sample of cricket politics. A means for our cricket high-ups to ensure that their chairs remained intact by pacifying the members of these townships on whose votes they thrive.

Would Hadlee have stayed back had the venues been different? 'Positive', claimed insiders in the New Zealand camp. 18 wickets from three Test matches, reaching 391, leaving contender Ian Botham far behind. Now he waits for the Pakistan series to commence. Spurred on by his home crowd he will easily haul the minimum of nine wickets required and realise his dream of 400 wickets.

the disenchantment persists is obvious in that he stayed away for the Reliance Cup on the pretext that the tour would be too gruelling after his four months of county cricket. But of course it was not tiring to play for the Silk Cut Tournament in Hongkong during the

**C**ricket is a game of surprises. No doubt. When one heard that Richard Hadlee was to tour India, one was more than pleasantly surprised. For one who had stated that he would stay away from the subcontinent as the conditions prevalent here were not to his preferences, this was indeed a turnabout. And why not? After all, who wouldn't when it is the question of a record. So Hadlee ate humble pie and came over to India to fulfill his dream, overruling his preferences.

The record achieved, Hadlee flew back. That was no surprise. For hasn't Geoff Boycott done it before? However, what surprised, would work. He reasoned that the one-dayers venues being new, the outfields would be uneven and hence would cause discomfiture. The ground being hard, his ankle swelling could get worse and thus jeopardise his fitness during the coming Pakistan series. With ample support from his physiotherapist, Park Palmer, Hadlee ensured his return went without a hitch, leaving John Wright little



## Sports Quiz

1. How many stumps were used in early form of Cricket?
2. What is the word in soccer for kicking a ball through an opponent's legs?
3. How many red balls are used in a game of snooker?
4. In what game is 'it' animal, vegetable or mineral?
5. In cricket, who was 'The Champion'?
6. Which cricketer is nicknamed 'Smokey'?
7. In Australian cricket, what is the term meaning 'the end of the day's play'?
8. Name the soccer team which included the former captains of Brazil, Holland and West Germany?
9. From what material are snooker balls made?
10. Which cricketer is nicknamed 'Diamond'?
11. What do cricketers ask the umpires if they think a batsman is out?
12. Which newspaper does Clive Lloyd read?
13. How many overs are allotted to each side in Benson & Hedges Cup match?
14. Who was snooker's first ever 'billiards only' professional?
15. What is the traditional form of wrestling in Japan?

### Answers

1. Two, 2. Nutmeg, 3. 15, 4. Twenty Questions, 5. W.G. Grace, 6. Viv Richards, 7. Stumps, 8. New York Cosmos, 9. Crystal Palace, 10. Wayne Daniel, 11. How's that (or Qwaz), 12. The Guardian, London, 13. 55, 14. Norman Dagle, 15. Sumo

- ACM Nazer



## Indian Cricket Performance 1988

By Navin Chand

**T**he year of 1987 had ended on a dismal note. Kapil Dev had failed to regain the World cup, losing to England in the semi-final, and resultantly was removed from the captaincy. Dilip Vengsarkar became the new captain and led India in three Tests against West Indies. India was defeated in a low-scoring first Test and the next two were drawn.

By the turn of the year, Vengsarkar was actively involved in the controversy of whether the cricketers should be allowed to write syndicated columns about the matches they were participating in. In the Calcutta (Third) Test, Vengsarkar got injured and subsequently was banned for writing his columns for a period of six months by the cricket board.

and hoped to be retained as the leader of team. But the board thought otherwise and Vengsarkar was again nominated to lead India. This gave birth to differences between the two leading players and the matter got to head during matches.

The team had to pay the penalty for internal differences various charges were levied against Shastri including deliberate slow batting. Despite making a good start of beating West Indies, India could not make it even to the final.

The Champion's Trophy was followed immediately by Asia cup in Bangla Desh. With the continued differences with the captain, Ravi Shastri ruled himself medically unfit. Nevertheless, the spin duo of Ayub and Hirwani com-

**For the Indian cricket, the emergence of spin dual is morale boosting for the future. But the downward trend in Kapil's bowling is an alarming sign. India is yet to find a suitable partner for him.**

Ravi Shastri became the new captain the new year. He was an instant success both in one-dayers as well as in Test matches.

The first match that India played in the new year of 1988 was the one dayer at Calcutta under the leadership of the new captain. Shastri preferred to have a young brigade and gave chance to three debutants in W.V. Raman, Sanjeev Sharma and Ajay Sharma. The move paid rich dividends as India defeated West Indies for the first time in the series to narrow the lead to 2-1. However, Caribbeans went on to win the next five one-dayers.

In Test matches, India played only one Test under Ravi Shastri. A new spinner in Narendra Hirwani was tried and once again the move to try youngsters paid rich dividends. Hirwani routed the visitors in both innings taking eight wickets in each innings of the Madras Test to make India and West Indies share the series one all.

In March 88, India went to Sharjah under Ravi Shastri since Vengsarkar was still under ban. Even without the services of the Bombayite stroke player, Shastri managed to win the Sharjah cup with his young brigade. The job was made easy with the absence of one main challenger, Pakistan.

In October, it was once again to Sharjah for Champion's Trophy. With his successful performance as captain, Ravi Shastri deserved

bined with the batting of Mohinder and Sidhu helped India to get past both Pakistan and Sri Lanka (also Bangla Desh, though it hardly put any challenge).

Before, Indian cricketers could return from Bangla Desh with the cup. New Zealanders were already here for the new series. With the Asia cup victory, Indian team's morale went up and the same was reflected in the series against New Zealand. India won by quite big margins at Bangalore and Hyderabad. However, the defeat in the second Test at Bombay also exposed the limitations of Indian batting. Our main weapon was the spin attack of Ayub and Hirwani.

One of the memorable event of the India-Kiwi series was the world record of highest Test wickets by Richard Hadlee. The kiwi pace-man now intends to complete 400 Test wickets and in the new year of 1989, he should be able to achieve it.

As for Indian cricket, the emergence of spin dual is morale-boosting for the future than the downward trend in Kapil's bowling is also an alarming sign. India is yet to find a suitable partner for him and even before that is done, Kapil himself is on the decline.

How far the web and guile of spinners can work without biting teeth of the pace attack is to be seen in the new year especially on the Caribbean tour.

## What Is In Store For 1989?

**I**ndian cricket team is scheduled to play two Test series in the year of 1989. First against West Indies in the summer and the second against Pakistan across the border in the winter season. A look at the past records and cricket history against these two countries in the away series would reveal that the tours to these countries have always been tough for the Indian captains and the results have more often than not lowered the cricketing image of the country. The only exception is the 1971 tour to Caribbean islands under the stewardship of Ajit Wadekar. India could win that series 1-0 largely due to the exceptionally brilliant

batting performance by debutant Sunil Gavaskar and seasoned middleorder batsman Dilip Sardesai.

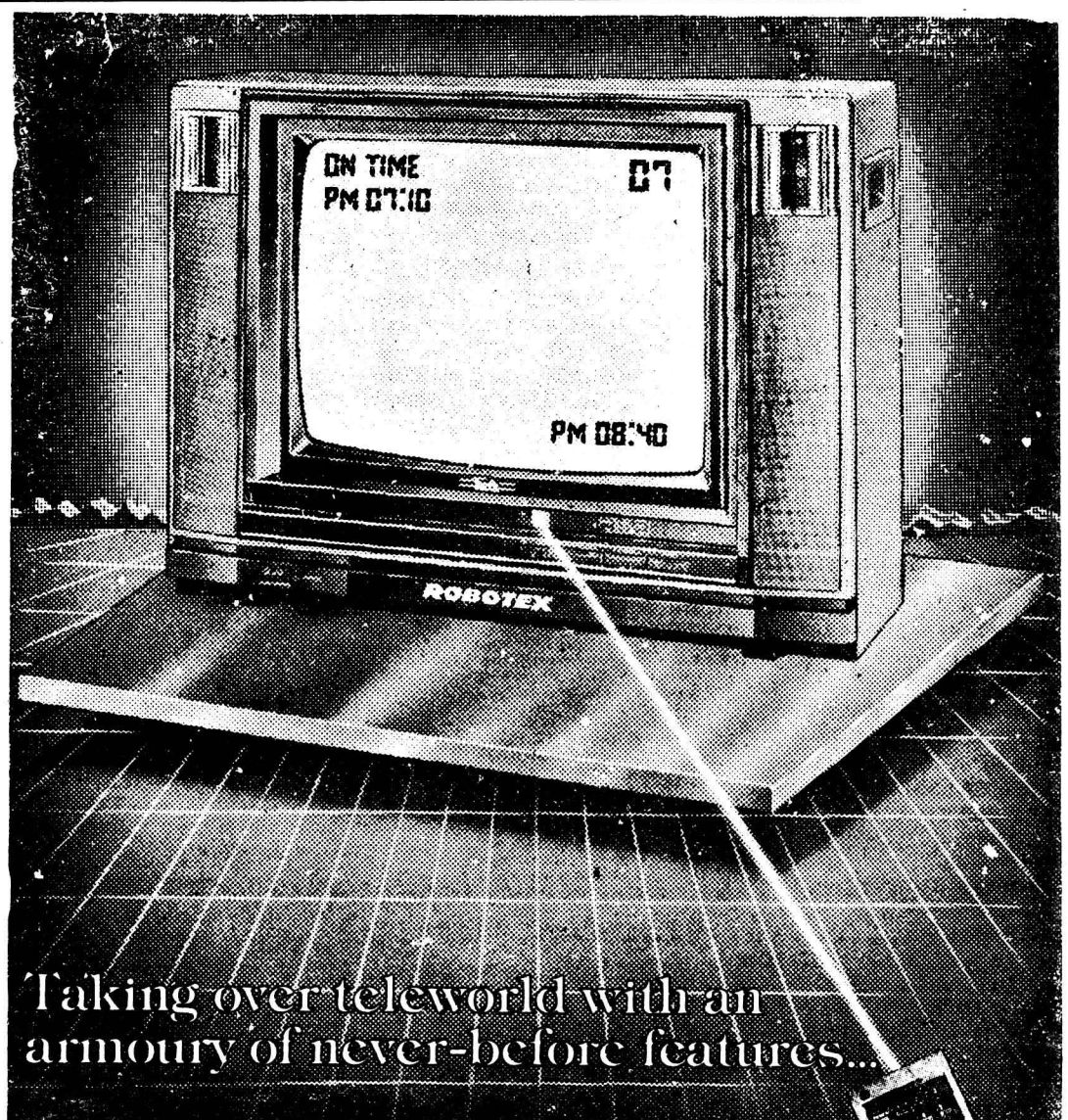
Apart from the defeats in the series against these two countries, one should be prepared for more problems on and off the field. Two main batsmen are already under cloud-Mohinder Amarnath for his outburst against selectors and Navjot Sidhu for his involvement in a murder case. Two allrounders and ex-captains, Kapil and Ravi Shastri, are also on the decline.

As such, Dilip Vengsarkar is the only dependable experienced batsman left in the team, who will have to shoulder the responsibility of building up the innings apart

from the duties of the captaincy. But if he loses the series against West Indies (which seems on the cards with Marshall & Co at their best on home pitch), Vengsarkar may be removed from the captaincy and also his place in the team may be in danger.

Even if, Vengsarkar manages to avoid the same and is again asked to lead Indian team in Pakistan, then one can visualise the Colonel meeting his Waterloo there as most of the past Indian captains like Bishen Bedi, Gavaskar would vouch for. Nevertheless, it is all what one can think of.

—N.C.



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- Two-way DUAL SPEAKERS.
- PANEL LOCK to make pre-set controls tamper proof.

**ROBOTEX** *Texla®*  
 ... a breed apart! The right choice

naa/ND/TX-88